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ABSTRACT

Cartoons, text, questions, and activities encourage students to link the present with the past, to look at colonialism from the perspective of the colonized, and to see how the global economy perpetuates the trade structures begun during the colonial era. After exploring colonialism in the past, early contacts by Europeans with other cultures, the take over of Asia, and the building blocks of colonialism, the impact of past and present colonialism is highlighted. The next section presented the difficulties on the one hand, of changing the old colonial patterns in former colonies and the pressure to maintain those patterns, on the other. The last section provides activities to coincide with the various chapters and a simulation game designed to illustrate how the colonial patterns persist in world trade. A list of 12 audio-visual and print resources provides further information. Alternative questions related to the text and a map of the case study countries supplement the chapters. (CK)

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COLONIALISM

IN ASIA

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SO 023 341

A CRITICAL LOOK!

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COLONIALISM IN ASIA

A CRITICAL LOOK!

Text by Susan Gage

Illustrations by Don McNair,
Westcoast Development Group

This resource was produced by VIDEA, Victoria International Development Education Association, with assistance from The Scarboro Foreign Mission Society.

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To the Teacher:

On Colonialism and Development

In most North American classrooms, the issues of colonialism and development are viewed — when they are viewed at all — as separate and unrelated. Students of history glean a vague colonial picture of missionaries, merchants and administrators trying to help poor and disorganized countries in their path to modernization. The violence of colonialism, both in the battles for power and in the subsequent re-organization of the colonies' economies, is generally underplayed. Few students, for instance, are aware that one-tenth of the population of the Philippines was killed in the American takeover, or that thousands of Indians died of famine while indigo and jute were exported to fill the needs of British merchants.

The question of why most of the world's ex-colonies — even those which were once prosperous — are now among the world's "underdeveloped countries" is not a hotly-debated topic in North America. Students may be introduced to tables of statistics on rich and poor countries, and learn that the poor countries are less industrialized and have less capital than those at the top of the scale. But rarely will they be introduced to the words of Third World historians such as Jawarharlal Nehru, India's first prime minister, who places the blame for the ruin of his country at the feet of the British.

> ***" . . . those parts of India which have been the longest under British rule are the poorest today . . . Nearly all our major problems today have grown up during British rule and as a direct result of British policy: the princes; the minority problem; various vested interests, foreign and Indian; the lack of industry and the neglect of agriculture; the extreme backwardness in the social services; and, above all, the tragic poverty of the people."***
>
> (Nehru, *The Discovery of India*, 1946)

Colonialism in Asia: A Critical Look not only attempts to look at colonialism from the perspective of the colonized, it encourages students to link today with yesterday, to see how much of our global economy perpetuates the trade structures begun during the colonial era.

1 looking backward

The world has had about 500 years of colonialism. Triumph or disaster — what's the verdict?

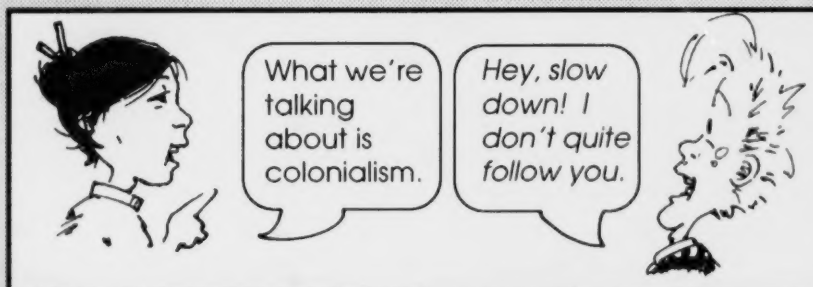
In 1492
Columbus sailed
The ocean blue.

Awesome! I sure wish I had lived 500 years ago. I could have been an explorer. Think of it — following in the footsteps of Columbus, setting out with Vasco da Gama . . . What a life, eh!

Well, it might have been a great life for some of those guys. But it sure wasn't a great life for the people they met on their travels! For pretty well all the Asians and Africans and indigenous Americans, those explorers were the first signal of disaster!

Oh, I've heard this stuff before. Just because a lot of people from Asia are poor, does that mean you have to do a smear job on Europeans?

Man, I can see discussing with ***you*** isn't going to be easy! You're going to have to forget about all your ideas of wonderful European explorers and European civilization. Let's look at the world through my eyes. Asian eyes. OK?

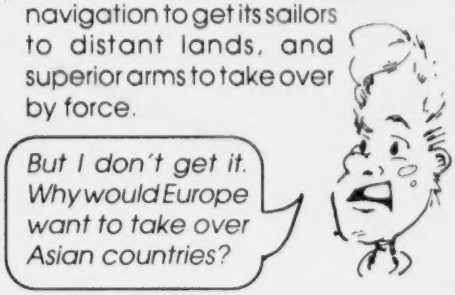


co-lo-ni-al-ism (-iz'm) *n.* the system by which a country maintains foreign colonies, esp. for economic exploitation. *(Webster's New World Dictionary)*

Colonialism: What Is It?

Well, colonialism is when a powerful country just walks in and takes over. It's never that easy, of course. There's usually a lot of fighting and shooting. But when it's over, the "Mother Country" (some mother!) rules the colony, collects taxes, makes people speak the language of the mother country and use the laws of the mother country, and all that sort of thing. In fact, the mother country usually ends up completely re-organizing the colony.

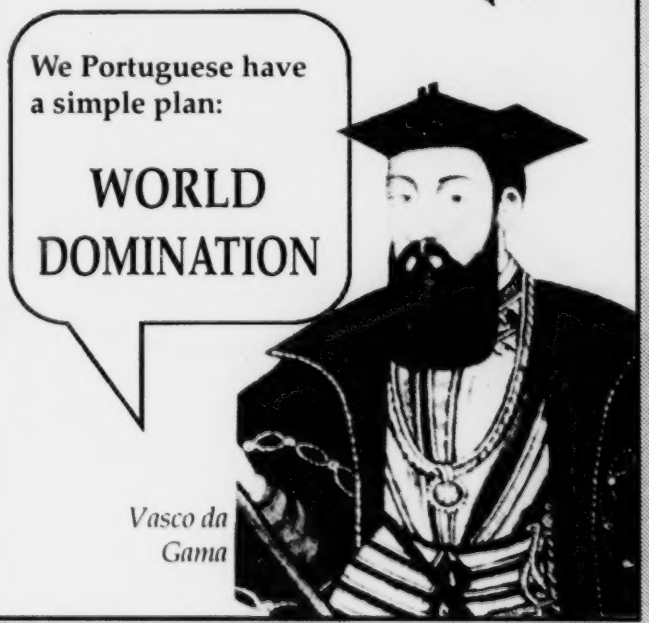
In Asia, Japan was a major colonial power, colonizing Korea, Taiwan and northern China. And China took over some of its nearby neighbours, too. But the top-of-the-charts colonial power was Europe. Europe had superior navigation to get its sailors to distant lands, and superior arms to take over by force.



Well, you can't really talk colonialism without talking capitalism. Profit was the driving force behind the guns. Colonialism was a get-rich-quick scheme for a whole lot of Europeans.

Well, I can see that you're a little sore about colonialism. But I still don't see what this has to do with these explorers. I mean, all they wanted to do was improve their navigation and discover strange lands, and promote trade, and all that stuff.

That's what ***you*** might think, but to us Asians it seems a little different. Vasco da Gama and the Portuguese boys wanted to improve their navigation, all right, but they had a few other things in mind, too.



Europe muscles in

2 early contacts

What was going on in Asia before the Europeans arrived? How did things change later?

Asian Trade Before Vasco

Before Vasco da Gama arrived in Calicut, India on May 20, 1498, the Asian countries traded among themselves, and also with merchants of Africa and the Middle East. The main meeting-place was Malacca, in what is now Malaysia. Indian ships would sail from Gujarat, in the west part of India, to Malacca and back again, following the northeast and southwest monsoon winds. Traders from the China seas would arrive in Malacca, propelled by the trade winds. Ships would arrive from Aden in the Middle East, and from Malindi on the east coast of Africa.

The Asian countries had a lot of things to trade. The ceramic factories of Nanking in China produced a million pieces of fine pottery a year; this is where we got the word "china" for fine porcelain. The cotton weavers of Gujarat, India, produced three million pieces a year for export.

Asian Trade After Vasco

So how did things change?

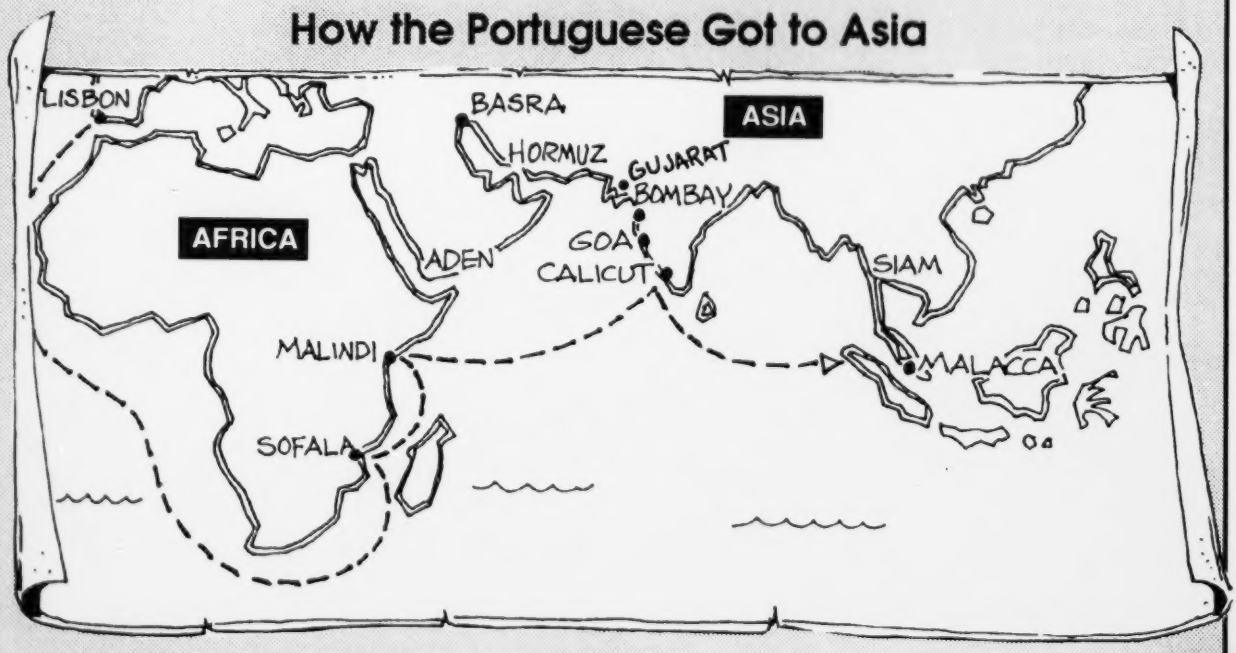
Well Portugal, that little country of about a million people, began to control the seas.

What do you mean — "control the seas?" How could they just take over?

In a word (or two),

GUNS and **SHIPS**

How the Portuguese Got to Asia



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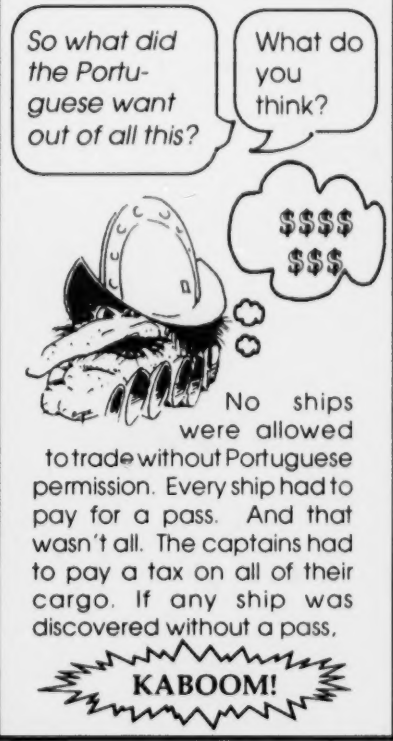
The Gunpowder Solution

The Asian and African traders had light ships, not designed to carry heavy guns. Portuguese ships, on the other hand, were designed for ATTACK. Before long, they had managed to scare just about everyone into submission. Within a single generation, the Portuguese built a series of over 40 forts from Hormuz at the north of the Persian Gulf and Aden at the beginning of the Red Sea, down the west coast of India, through Ceylon, to Malacca (now part of Malasia), and later to Macao in China.

One Way to Get Your Point Across
(Early Portuguese Style)

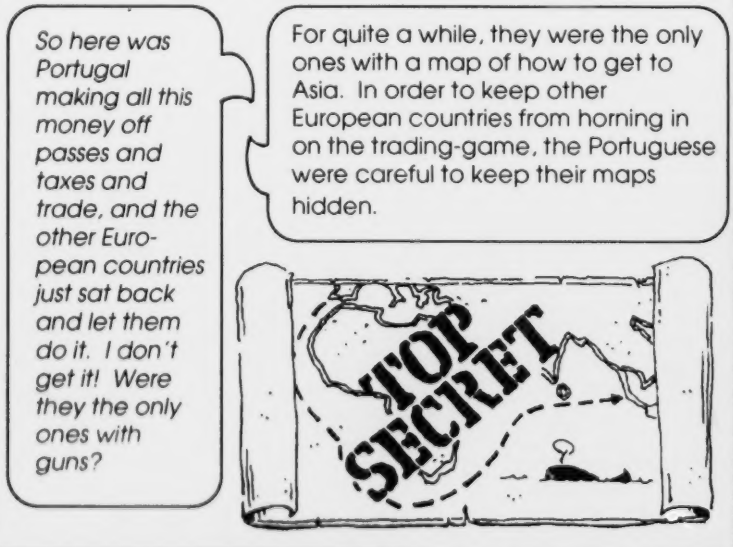
In the sixteenth century, Governor D. Jono de Castro de Goa wrote to the King of Portugal describing the exploits of one D. Manuel de Lima in India:

". . . he caused more destruction on the coast than was ever done before, or ever dreamt of, destroying every place from Daman up to Broach, so that there was no memory left of them, and he butchered everyone he captured without showing mercy to a living thing. He burnt twenty large ships and 150 small ones . . . and the town squares were covered with bodies, which caused great astonishment and fear in all Gujarat."


So what did the Portuguese want out of all this?
What do you think?
$$$$
$$$
No ships were allowed to trade without Portuguese permission. Every ship had to pay for a pass. And that wasn't all. The captains had to pay a tax on all of their cargo. If any ship was discovered without a pass,
KABOOM!

The Portuguese Heyday

The Portuguese, for such a little country , had a whole lot of energy. They traded huge volumes of goods, and sold these goods to the rest of Europe. The Portuguese ships left home carrying men for the forts. They returned with spices (mainly pepper) and cotton cloth.


So here was Portugal making all this money off passes and taxes and trade, and the other European countries just sat back and let them do it. I don't get it! Were they the only ones with guns?
For quite a while, they were the only ones with a map of how to get to Asia. In order to keep other European countries from horning in on the trading-game, the Portuguese were careful to keep their maps hidden.
TOP SECRET

The Great Map Caper

It is strictly forbidden to show our secret routes to Asia on any map.

1504: King Manuel I of Portugal

BUT, in 1595, thingschanged

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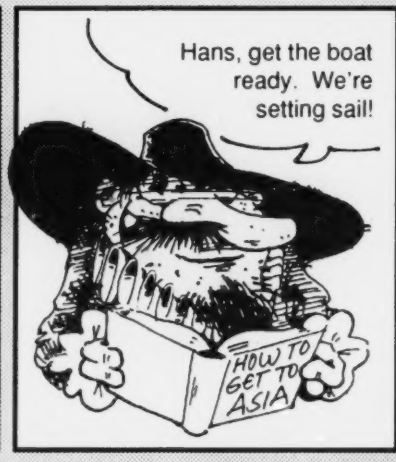
10 months on the Best Seller List

How to Get to Asia

by Jan Huyghen van Lenshoten, of Holland

Filled with Maps
Get Yours Today!!!



Two's a Crowd, One's a Company

The Dutch and British both wanted to keep their trade strong and well-organized, so they each combined their small private trading companies into large companies. The British East India Company was established in 1599, and the Dutch East India Company in 1602. These companies had great powers granted to them by their governments.

The Mighty Powers — Score Card

Portuguese	Dutch	
☐	☑	**1604:** The Dutch East India Company signs a treaty with the ruler of Calicut (India), declaring Portugal an enemy to be expelled from India
☐	☑	**1605:** Amboyna (in the East Indies) falls to the Dutch
☐	☑	**1619:** Jakarta falls to the Dutch
☐	☑	**1641:** Malacca (now in Malaysia) falls to the Dutch
☐	☑	**1652:** Cape of Good Hope — a halfway-point colony on the tip of Africa — is established
☐	☑	**1654:** Ceylon (now Sri Lanka) becomes Dutch

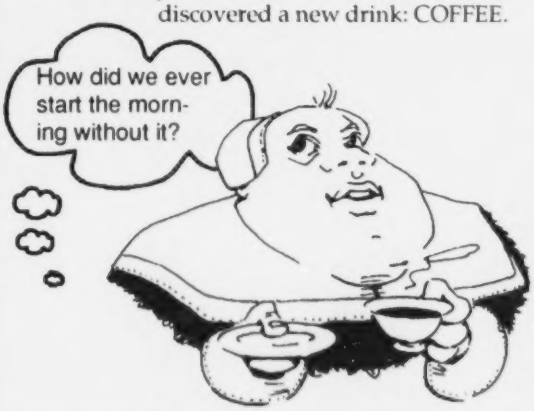
The Dutch Triumph!

The Winner: The Dutch East India Company
Runner-Up: The British, who manage to get a foothold in India

THE DUTCH EAST INDIA COMPANY IS GRANTED BY THIS CHARTER THE RIGHT TO EXERCISE SOVEREIGN POWERS, TO MAKE TREATIES, TO BEAR ARMS AND CONQUER TERRITORY AND TO ERECT FORTS . . . .
Hey, this reminds me of something! Didn't the Hudson Bay Company do this kind of thing in Canada?
You got it! These big companies were like governments. They could do just about anything!

The Caffeine Fix

Up until the early 18th century, most of the Asian trade was in spices, but then the Dutch discovered a new drink: COFFEE.



The Dutch discovered that coffee bushes grew well in the East Indies. In 1711, the first harvest was ready — 45 kg of coffee beans. In 1723, just 12 years later, the harvest had grown to 5,443,200 kg.

So who planted and picked the coffee?
Who do you think? Not the Dutch. As far as the Dutch East India Company was concerned, all those people living on the East Indian islands were there for one purpose:
Stop lazing around, and get to work!

Plantations — coffee, tea, sugar, rubber — became the new colonial reality.

People & Cattle
What's the Difference?

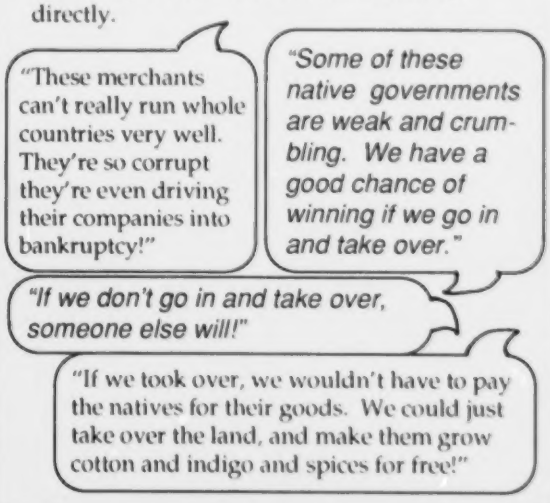
According to Jan Pieterszoon Coen, the Dutch Governor-General of the West Indies from 1618 to 1629, there wasn't much difference at all.

"May not a man in Europe do what he likes with his cattle? Even so does the master do with his men, for everywhere, these with all that belongs to them are as much the property of the master, as are brute beasts in the Netherlands. The law of this land is the will of the King and he is King who is strongest."

Think about it:
One of the ugliest aspects of colonialism is ***racism***. Do you think colonialism could happen without racism?

Direct Colonization — The Switchover

Under company rule, the countries weren't yet colonies. Often tradional rulers were allowed to rule as long as they did what the company wanted. In the 19th century, a whole lot of things made the Dutch and British governments decide to take over Asian countries directly.


"These merchants can't really run whole countries very well. They're so corrupt they're even driving their companies into bankruptcy!"
"Some of these native governments are weak and crumbling. We have a good chance of winning if we go in and take over."
"If we don't go in and take over, someone else will!"
"If we took over, we wouldn't have to pay the natives for their goods. We could just take over the land, and make them grow cotton and indigo and spices for free!"

3 taking over

How did colonialism work? What patterns were established by the colonialists that affect the world today?

Europe Takes Over

During the 1800s, the race to take over the world was on. European governments dismissed the companies which had been ruling indirectly, and took over completely.

Percentage of World Land Surface Covered by Europe & Its Possessions

1800:	55%
1878:	67%
1914:	84.4%

— Fieldhouse, ***Colonial Empires***

It sounds like the invasion of the killer tomatoes! Europeanism creeping over all the earth!..
Well, it was a bit. European powers were always trying to protect the borders of their colonies, and that was an excuse to keep spreading outwards. By the early 20th century, almost all of the world was either colonizer or colonized.
But why are we talking about this when it's all over? What difference does it make now?
Well to understand how yesterday's colonialism is related to the world today, we're going to have to have a good look at the building blocks of colonialism.

The Great Divide
— *Global Division of Labour*

The basic idea of colonialism was global trade with a purpose. The purpose was to use the colonies as suppliers of raw materials and buyers of manufactured products. But the jobs and wealth were to stay in Europe. This creation of wealth by export is sometimes called ***mercantilism***.

To describe this global division of labour another way . . .

"It is clearly seen that to our beloved land Great Britain has been assigned the high mission of manufacturing for her sister nations. . . . Our ships which reach us laden with raw materials, shall return to all parts of the earth laden. This exchange of raw materials for finished products under the decrees of nature makes each nation the servant of the other and proclaims the brotherhood of man."

— Anonymous British Citizen
1832

Think about it:
In this global division of labour, does each nation really become the "servant of the other"?

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COLONIALISM: The Building Blocks

1 Grabbing the Cash
— looting Asia

The colonies of Asia — India, Malaya (now Malaysia), the Dutch East Indies (now Indonesia) , Ceylon (now Sri Lanka), the Philippines — were rich in natural resources. But the money from their crops and mines and forests wasn't spent in developing industries for the countries themselves. The money sailed off to Europe.

Well, for instance, from 1850 to 1872, the Dutch East Indies (now Indonesia) contributed one-third of the total budget of Holland. The Dutch were able to reduce their national debt, and this money also paid for the building of the Dutch state railways.

Think about it:
If Asian money had been used to develop machines and technology for Asia rather than for Europe, what differences might there be today?

2 The Raw Deal
— exporting crops to Europe

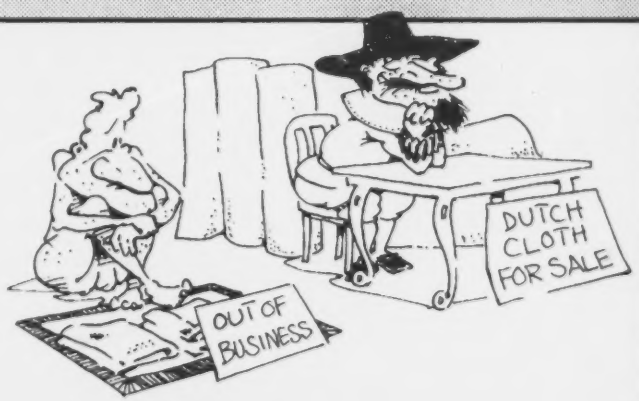
Well, for one thing, if you had just enough land for your family, and suddenly you were told that you had to grow crops to send to Europe, you'd probably find yourself getting pretty hungry! Plus the prices were set very low, and most of the money went to pay the heavy European taxes. So there wasn't enough money to buy food.

But that's not all. The Europeans organized their colonies so that each one grew just two or three different crops. India grew jute, cotton and tea. Ceylon grew tea. Malaya grew rubber.

Think about it:
Having only one or two export crops might cause problems later on. Can you think what?

The Craft Crash
— de-industrializing Asia

The division of labour idea also affected the craftspeople and manufacturers of Asia. European countries went to great lengths to ensure that Asians would produce raw materials (to be sold at low prices to the mother country), and buy manufactured products (at high prices) from the mother country. Yet in Asia there were many expert weavers, potters, leatherworkers and other craftspeople. The colonialists discouraged these businesses through taxation, and made sure that the new machinery available in Europe wasn't brought to Asia.

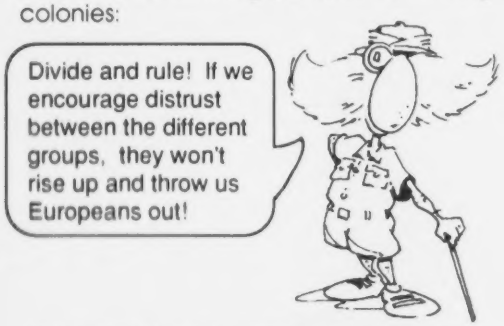


Think about it:
What effect might this de-industrialization have on Asia's development?

3 Drawing the Line
— problems of addition and division

Often, when the colonialists created a colony, people with little in common were chucked together, or those with a lot in common had a line drawn between them. Indonesia, for instance, is a collection of all the different people — some of them Asian, some Melanesian — whose countries were taken over by the Dutch in the region.

To make things worse, many of the colonizers came up with a great idea for running colonies:



In the Dutch East Indies (Indonesia), for example, the Ambonese people were used as soldiers to suppress the other Indonesian peoples. When Indonesia became independent, the Ambonese were so hated by the rest of the country that most of them went to Holland as refugees.

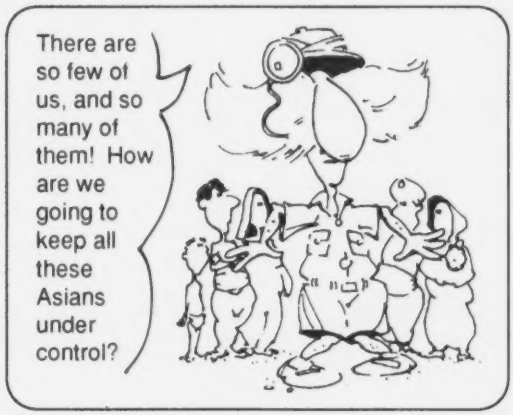
Think about it:
What problems might all this diversity and distrust cause later?

Nearly all our major problems today have grown up during British rule and as a direct result of British policy. . . .

— Jawaharlal Nehru, later India's first prime minister, written from prison where he was serving his 9th term for protesting British rule, 1944

4 Holding up Hierarchies

The European colonizers had another problem:



OUR RESOURCEFUL COLONIAL ADMINSTRATOR DISCOVERS THE ANSWER!

My dear chap, we'll help you stay in power as long as you keep all these peasants under control.
"Ah, now I can do what I want, and the English will support me!"

Think about it:
How might the development of countries like India be changed because old-fashioned rulers were supported by British guns?

5 West is Best

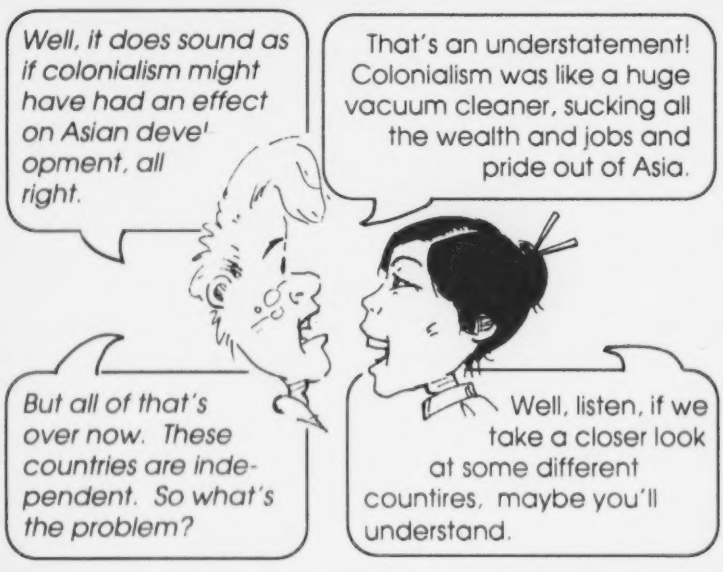
In education, culture, theories about agriculture, development, and economics, the colonialists passed on their own idea about the world:

WEST IS BEST!

". . . colonialism tended not only to deprive a society of its freedom and its wealth, but of its very character, leaving its people intellectually and morally disoriented . . . ."

— D.K. Fieldhouse, ***Colonialism 1870-1945***

Think about it:
What difference might this attitude make to Asian development today?


Well, it does sound as if colonialism might have had an effect on Asian deve! opment, all right.
That's an understatement! Colonialism was like a huge vacuum cleaner, sucking all the wealth and jobs and pride out of Asia.
But all of that's over now. These countries are independent. So what's the problem?
Well, listen, if we take a closer look at some different countires, maybe you'll understand.

Creating "White Asians"

Thomas Babington Macaulay, 1835, commenting on the Indian school system:—

"We must at present do our best to form a class who may be interpreters between us and millions whom we govern; a class of person, Indian in blood and color, but English in taste, in opinions, in morals, and in intellect."

A Vietnamese boy, educated in a colonial school:—

"The more deeply I entered the French world, the more frustrated I became at the Vietnamese world in which I was forced to participate, the more I could see only the coarse yokel ugliness of people with yellow skins and flat noses, to whom I used to feel I was connected because I also had a flat nose and yellow skin . . . Their simple yokel gestures, like swallowing rice wine fast . . . made me break out all over in goose pimples."

— quoted by Arlene Eisen (1984)

Changing the face of India

4 under the Raj

India, home of mathematics, literature and diverse religions, is taken over by a handful of English merchants.

So how did India, the 7th largest country in the world, get taken over and run by a bunch of English guys?

Well, it is rather a long story, but it shows how the whole system of colonialism worked.

India before the Europeans

India, the fertile hto ancient cultures, the birthplace of Hinduism and Buddhism, must have dazzled even Vasco da Gama and his crew of European sailors when they arrived in Calicut in 1498. India was a centre of literature and of learning. It was Indian mathematicians who developed the decimal system of numbering which we use today. Indian architecture, under the Moghul emperors, was among the finest in the world.

A Foot in the Door

British Trade with India: Something to Sneeze At

Pepper — those little black balls of sneeze-making spice — was the main reason for British trade with India. Indian cloth was also considered the finest in the world, and very popular in Europe. The British East India Company, founded in 1599, got busy and by 1647 had 23 Indian stations and employed 90 Englishmen. By 1700, they had 4 strong, fortified settlements (as well as other smaller ones): Bombay, Calcutta, and Madras, and Fort St. David. But they were kept in check by the strong Mogul emperors of India, and had to obey Indian rules. However, the emperors were having their troubles.

The Delhi Gazette March 3, 1707

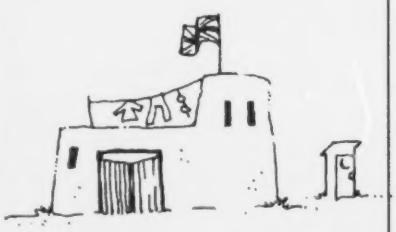
EMPEROR DIES!

Emperor Aurangzeb, our august leader, died today. But there was little time for tears in the royal family. Aurangzeb's two sons are bitterly fighting over who should be emperor. Meanwhile, provincial rulers are demanding that they be given more power.

There was so much turmoil over who should rule what parts of India, that nobody had time to keep an eye on the British. Meanwhile, the British East India Company came up with a new idea:

We can make more money if we build warehouses and hire Indian sepoys (guards) to guard them for us. That way we can buy up things when they're cheap and store them until the price gets higher.

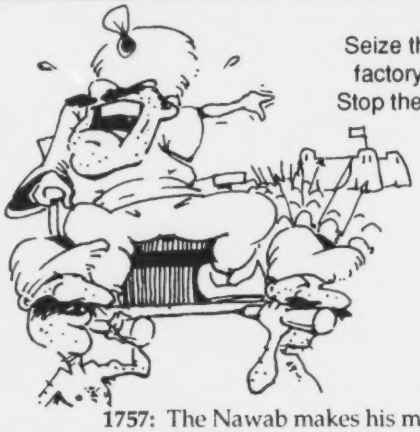
The British Take Calcutta



1755:
The British Factory at Calcutta

Why all these guns? Why this huge factory? I order you to stop expanding!
Go jump in the lake, old chap!
BRITISH EAST INDIA COMPANY CALCUTTA
UP

1756:
Siraz-ud-Daula, Nawab of Bengal notices something odd going on.



1757: The Nawab makes his move.

ALAS! WILL OUR BRAVE BRITISHERS SUFFER SHAME AND DEFEAT?

Help is near!

1757: THE BATTLE OF PLASSEY

Gallant Robert Clive, marching with British troops from Madras, Triumphs!

British Merchants Assoc.
We want to
• be able to collect taxes
• reduce workers' wages
• be exempt from taxes
• etc., etc., etc.
OK, OK! Anything you want, as long as you support me in the style to which I've become accustomed.

The old Nawab, with his old-fashioned ideas, is replaced by his former general, who had been bribed to lose the Battle of Plassey. He can be counted on to give the British what they want.

COLONIALISM: The Building Blocks

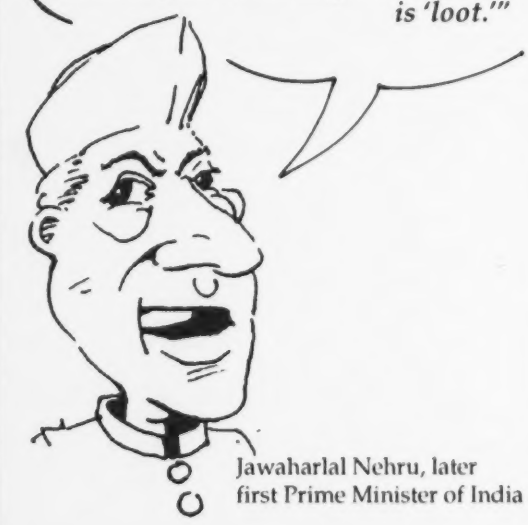
The Model of Success???

Certain Englishmen did very well out of the Battle of Plassey: Robert Clive received £234,000. The English went on to plot several more revolutions, replacing the old Nawabs with new ones who would let them do what they wanted.

For the people of Bengal — the area around Calcutta, things definitely took a downhill turn. The British East India Company took over the *diwani* — the right to collect taxes — and they taxed to the limit! Within a decade, this once-rich area was in a state of poverty.

Calcutta was just one example of what happened throughout India. When they had taken most of central and southern India, the British and their *sepoys* (Indian soldiers) moved north, and by 1818 the whole of India was either controlled directly by the British East India Company, or was controlled indirectly, through rulers who agreed to British terms.

"The corruption, venality, nepotism, violence and greed of money of these early generations of British rule in India is something which passes comprehension. It is significant that one of the Hindustani words which became part of the English language is 'loot.'"



Jawaharlal Nehru, later first Prime Minister of India

This is all kind of interesting, but what I want to know is what difference does any of this history make to India today?

1 Grabbing the Cash:
— looting India

Between 1757 and 1815, India contributed £1 billion to the national income of Britain. The *total* national income of Britain in 1770 was about £125 million.

Crazy! That means that India contributed the equivalent of 8 years of the total British national income. I'll bet Canada wouldn't mind a few contributions like that right now!

All this money was a great help to the inventors of Britain, who suddenly found financial backers for their projects:

- 1764: Hargreaves' spinning jenny
- 1768 - Watt's steam engine
- 1776: Crompton's mule
- 1785: Cartwright's power loom

And today:

India is still trying to get her economy going and to get new technology and education for her people. India still hasn't caught up!

2 The Raw Deal

— growing Indian jute, indigo, cotton and tea for Europe

When the British arrived, the agriculture of India was based on the village. The village was pretty self-sufficient. A few items, like salt and iron, had to be bought outside the village, but everything else was available right at home.

Then came the British, the taxes, and the growing of export crops: indigo (used for dye), jute, tea and cotton. The result? Not enough food for Indians.

10 million Indians died in famines during the British occupation.

The amount of food-grain (wheat or rice) per person went from 24 ounces per day in 1880 to 14 ounces in 1938.

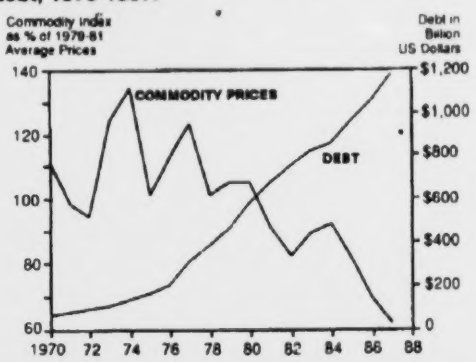
But couldn't they use the money from the export crops to buy food?

The trouble with export crops is that the British set the prices very low. There was barely enough money to pay the taxes.

And today:

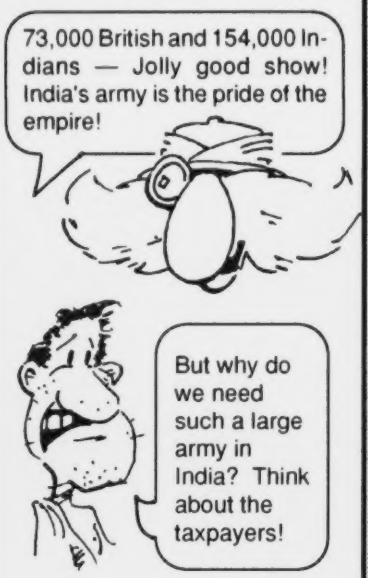
Prices for raw export crops like Indian cotton, jute and tea continue to go downhill, while at the same time, prices for the manufactured goods — machines and parts that India needs to buy from the industrialized countries — go up. The result? Debt.

Commodity price index and total Third World debt, 1970-1987.[3]



Graph: New Internationalist, February 1990

Call Out the Army!


73,000 British and 154,000 Indians — Jolly good show! India's army is the pride of the empire!
But why do we need such a large army in India? Think about the taxpayers!

The British used the Indian army for all kinds of non-Indian activities. The Indian army fought against Afghanistan, Burma, Malay, Siam (now Thailand) and Tibet. In World War I, the Indian Army fought for Britain in the Middle East. And the people who paid for all this were the Indians.

India's Budget, 1935-36:

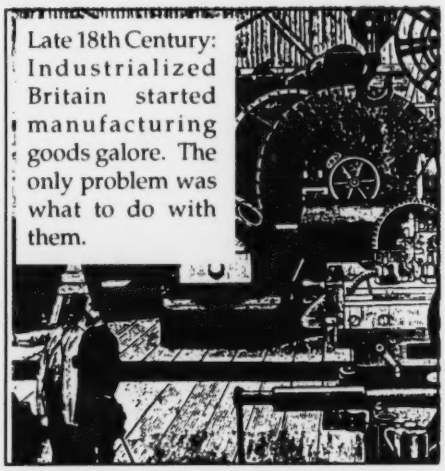
(in million rupees)

military services - 500
justice, jails and police ...203
agriculture - 27
industry - 9

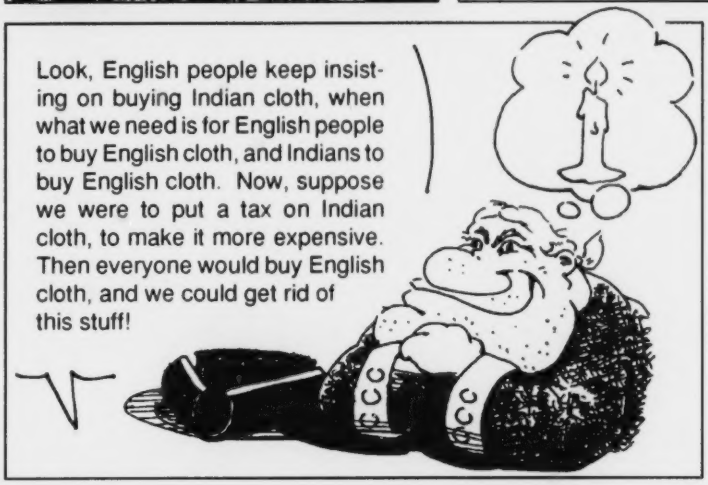
Think about it:

Who made this decision to spend so much on the army and police and so little on agriculture and industry? Who benefitted by this decision? How might India be different today if more had been spent on agriculture and industry?

3 The Craft Crash
— *de-industrializing India*


Late 18th Century: Industrialized Britain started manufacturing goods galore. The only problem was what to do with them.

These bolts of cloth are piling up! We'd better find someone to buy them in a hurry!
WILL OUR HERO BE BURIED UNDER MOUNDS OF UNSOLD CLOTH?


Look, English people keep insisting on buying Indian cloth, when what we need is for English people to buy English cloth, and Indians to buy English cloth. Now, suppose we were to put a tax on Indian cloth, to make it more expensive. Then everyone would buy English cloth, and we could get rid of this stuff!

OUR HERO'S INGENIOUS PLAN WORKS!

In 1814, British cloth going into India is taxed 3 1/2%. Indian cloth going into Britain is taxed 70 to 80%. The Indian cloth is now too expensive for English people to buy. The British cloth for sale in India seems pretty cheap, too, since it is made by machines.

CHANGES IN THE INDIAN AND BRITISH CLOTH TRADE

BETWEEN 1815 & 1832 COTTON EXPORTS FROM INDIA FELL 13 TIMES WHILE COTTON IMPORTS INTO INDIA FROM BRITAIN ROSE 16 TIMES.

Graph from D. Cooke, Teaching Development Issues: Colonialism

And today:

India, like most Third World countries, is still under-industrialized. People come to the cities to look for jobs that aren't there. When India does manufacture goods for export, the industrialized countries like Canada impose tariffs on them in order to discourage Canadians from buying them.

BEST COPY AVAILABLE

4 Drawing the Lines
— *divide and rule*

India has for thousands of years been a land of Hindus and Muslims. The British, under Lord Minto, decided to keep the two religions separate.

After all, we don't want them all getting together and uniting to defeat US! Let's say that, when we get around to having some representatives, Hindus can only elect Hindus, and Muslims can only elect Muslims.

Lord Minto, 1909

When India finally got independence in 1947, the "Two India" policy was one of the factors that led to partition. The Muslims, feeling that they would be suppressed by a Hindu majority, insisted on separation, and India was divided into India and Pakistan. (Later, East and West Pakistan fought and separated. So what used to be India is now India, Pakistan, and Bangladesh.)

And today:

Talk about problems! India and Pakistan are still fighting a border war over the area of Kashmir, which they both feel belongs to them.

5 Holding Up Hierarchies
— *ruling through princes*

When the British came, much of India was divided into small kingdoms ruled by princes. The British came up with the idea of indirect rule, using the princes to help them. This left the princes free to tax and suppress their people as much as they wanted, and some of them did just that

If the people revolted, the Prince could call in his helpers, the British.

The princes "had long ago finished their role in history and would have been pushed aside by new forces if they had not been given foreign protection." — Jawaharlal Nehru

And today:

India is still a country of rich/poor extremes, a very small, rich upper class and large numbers of very poor people.

6 West is Best
— *thinking like the colonizers*

In India, as in all the colonies, it was assumed that the European way of education, administration, justice, agriculture — of pretty well everything, in fact — was the best way.

Because you've done it sucessfully your way for generations, it doesn't mean it works.

thinking like the colonizers, continued

After 45 years of independence, many Indians still unquestioningly adopt western attitudes and accept advice from western agencies such as the World Bank.

"Despite political independence, colonial trends and imperialist tendencies continue to rule the roost in this country. The educational system, an ugly legacy of British administration, needs to be completely reorganised to give the country a new direction."

— Prabha Ras, housewife, 28 years old
(Quoted in the New Internationalist, Jan./87)

The Green Revolution

— following western advice

In the 1970s, India accepted the advice of the World Bank to increase agricultural production through the "Green Revolution" technology developed by U.S. scientists. This included "improved" seeds, chemical fertilizers and irrigation schemes.

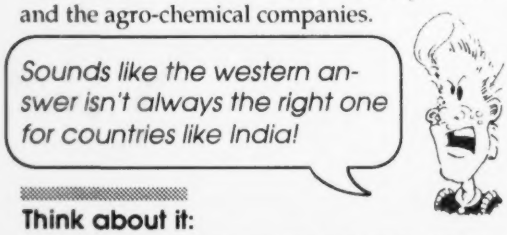
The Revolution Results:

- food production did increase

BUT

- the seeds need expensive fertilizers and pesticides to grow;
- the seeds need more water than regular seeds. Areas are now running out of groundwater;
- many poor farmers have lost their land, because they can't afford this expensive way of farming;
- the soil is becoming eroded.

According to Indian environmentalist Vandana Shiva, the only people who have benefitted from the Green Revolution are a few wealthy farmers and the agro-chemical companies.



Think about it:
India's leaders seem to be following a western path towards development. Do you think colonialism made a difference?

Racism

— a west-is-best aftermath

In colonial India, the colour bar was everywhere. Indians were barred from many hotels, clubs and parks. In the Army and Civil Service, Indians weren't allowed above a certain rank, no matter how highly qualified they were.

And today:

December 10, 1986 The Asian Times

Boy Killed in Playground

Ahmed Iqbal Ullahr, a 13-year-old Bangladeshi boy, was stabbed to death in a school playground in Manchester, England. He was trying to protect a fellow Bangladeshi boy from bullying by white students at the time. Stabbed in the stomach, Ahmed died in a police car on the way to the hospital.

Racism is something which exists worldwide, but is particularly strong in the ex-colonial countries. The *Times of London*, at the turn of the 19th century, wrote: "The most scrubby mean representation of (the white race) regards himself as infinitely superior to the Rajput with a genealogy of 1000 years." This attitude, which began during the African slave trade and increased during colonialism, is still alive and well today. You can probably think of incidents of racism where you live. Together, we can fight it.

Shaking Free

5 de-colonizing

How did India, like most of the other colonies of the world, finally get rid of its colonizers?

Fighting Back

But didn't the Indians get fed up and fight back?
Well, it's hard to fight back when the other side has all the good guns, but they did.

One British historian has found evidence of 77 peasant uprisings during the colonial period, none of which succeeded.

The Indian Mutiny

The largest and most famous Indian revolt was the Indian Mutiny of 1857-58. It started with the Indian *sepoys* (soldiers), and spread to the poor peasants, craftspeople who had been destroyed by the British, and workers from the plantations and factories.

For 14 months, fighting raged over 1,300,000 square km of India. But the Indians weren't united. Some of the *sepoys* and princes supported the British. In the end, they failed.

Taking Over

The Indian Mutiny made the British government realize that the British East India Company wasn't doing a very good job of ruling India. In 1877, they paid off the Company (using, of course, tax money collected from Indian farmers). India was now formally part of the British Empire.

Her Majesty Victoria, Empress of India

India was governed by the Governor General, who controlled the Indian Civil Service, Indian Army, and Indian Police.

In the early 1900s, some Indians were elected to provincial councils, but they didn't have very much real power. The Governor General controlled all the money.

Home Rule

The final struggle for independence — or home rule, as it was called — began in the late 19th century, among discontented upper-class Indians.

Why can't I get promoted in the Civil Service even when I have all the qualifications?

Why don't the elected Indian representatives have any real power?

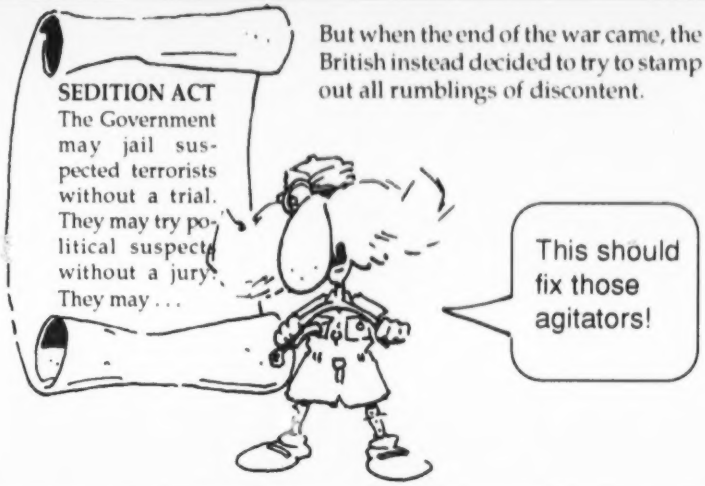
Why can't we govern ourselves?

In 1885, the Indian National Congress movement was formed.

Milestones on the Long Walk to Freedom

By the start of World War I, the leaders of the Congress Party, felt that they were nearing independence. They agreed to support the war.

If Indians help the British with this war — if we fight and give war loans — maybe we'll get home rule.


SEDITION ACT
The Government may jail suspected terrorists without a trial. They may try political suspects without a jury. They may . . .
This should fix those agitators!

But when the end of the war came, the British instead decided to try to stamp out all rumblings of discontent.

April 13, 1919 **The Amritsar News**

MASSACRE at JALLIAN WALLA!

Today several thousand people gathered to protest in Jallian-walla Bagh, a large enclosed public square in Amritsar. Suddenly, the exit was blocked by General Dyer, of the Indian Army. He ordered his men to fire into the unarmed crowd. 1605 rounds of ammunition were fired, killing an estimated 1200 people — men, women and children.

"I wanted to make an example of these people," explained General Dyer. " It was no longer a question of merely dispersing the crowd, but one of producing a sufficient moral effect from a military point of view not only on those who were present, but more expecially throughout the Punjab."

March 12, 1930 The Calcutta Herald

Walk to the Sea

Today Gandhi began his walk to the sea. "The British say we must pay tax on salt," said the Mahatma. "We will show these colonialists who have taken over our country. We will make our own salt from the sea!"

April 2, 1930
The Calcutta Herald

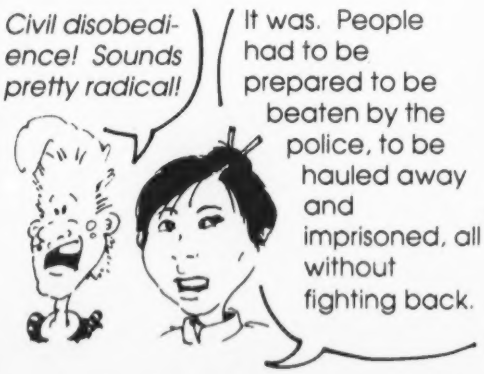
Prisons Overflow

Over 100,000 people have been imprisoned for making salt. According to Major Thornton-Pettigrew of the Indian Police this has placed a major strain on the prisons of India.

Gandhi: A Non-Violent Way

Mohandas Gandhi was born in 1869 and at nineteen went to London to study law. He went to South Africa to practice law, and ended up working for the rights of Indian voters in South Africa. When Gandhi came back to India, he became leader of the Indian Congress Party.

1930:
We must try a new way. We will try *hartal* — boycott of British goods — and *satyagraha* — nonviolent civil disobedience.


Civil disobedience! Sounds pretty radical!
It was. People had to be prepared to be beaten by the police, to be hauled away and imprisoned, all without fighting back.

Gandhi pointed out to Indians the economic effects of colonialism:

I will wear nothing but khadi — simple, hand-woven Indian cloth. Khadi is better than the machine-made British cloth which caused unemployment for so many Indians.

and the mental effects of colonialism:

"The moment the slave resolves that he will no longer be a slave, his fetters fall. He frees himself and shows the way to others. Freedom and slavery are mental states."
— Mohandas Gandhi, 1948

Gandhi, along with other members of the Congress party, spent years in British prisons during the fight for independence. But in the end, he not only helped to bring about independence; he also showed a way of thinking and action which is used world-wide in the struggle for social change.

Think about it:

Non-violent civil disobedience is used in many places today as a form of protest. Can you think of any groups of people in Canada who have used Gandhi's techniques of non-violent resistance?

Independence at Last

Gandhi's Walk to the Sea wasn't the last jail-filling event. In 1942, the **Quit India Campaign** began. Civil Disobedience protests were aimed at telling the British to get out. Finally, the British got the hint.

But there were problems. The Congress Party, which was mainly Hindu, wanted a united India, but the Muslim League wanted its own country. There were riots, killings, and uprisings. Finally, the British decidedthat the two Muslim areas — East Pakistan (now called Pakistan) and West Pakistan (now called Bangladesh) — would be a single Muslim country, and the rest of India would be mainly Hindu. The result was CHAOS! Millions of Hundus and Muslims became refugees, fleeing the massacres they feared. It's estimated that up to 2 million people were killed.

On August 14, 1947, India finally became independent.

But as you can see, it wasn't a case of living happily ever after. India faced a whole lot of problems — many of them brought about or worsened by colonialism.
And it seems like some of those problems are still hanging around today!

The oligarchy hangs on

6 colonial hangover

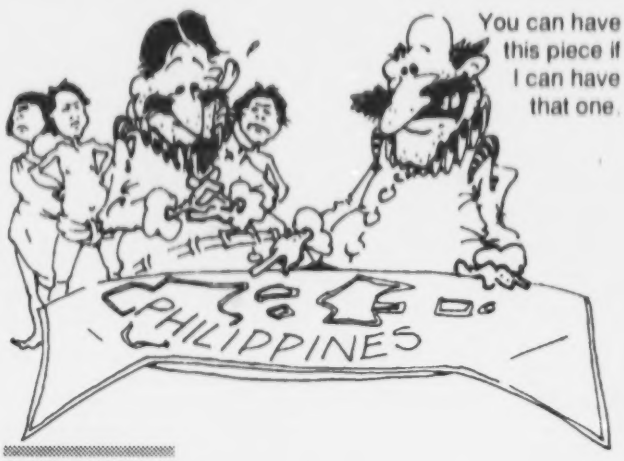
The Philippines, after 377 years under the Spanish and 48 under the U.S., discovers that colonialism hangs on.

graphic: New Internationalist

Ferdinand Magellan was a Portuguese, but he, like Columbus, sailed for the King of Spain. In 1519, on his way to the Molucca Islands, he accidentally "discovered" the Philippines. The Spanish moved in.

Under the Spanish: The Land Problem

As usual in Spanish colonies, all the land was given out to various Spanish colonists.



Think about it:
How might this feudal system of land distribution affect the Philippines later on?

rebellions small . . .

The Spanish could never relax:

"Those Filipinos, they are always revolting! They complain about forced labour, they complain about high land rent, they complain about their land being taken away! These people just don't know when they're well off!"

and big . . .

By 1892, discontented Filipinos organized themselves into a rebel force. They fought hard, defeating the Spanish in the small towns and rural areas. Finally, they controlled all of the Philippines except the capital, Manila. They were on the verge of independence!

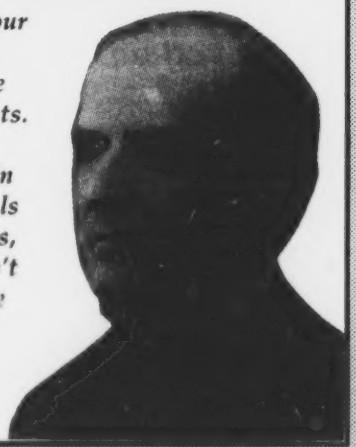
December 14, 1897 Manila Mouthpiece

Manila Surrounded!

Except for the capital, Manila, the entire Philippines is completely under the control of the independence fighters! Manila, the capital, is surrounded, and is expected to fall any day.

But meanwhile, in the U.S., other plans were being made . . .

Back in the White House, President McKinley has a problem . . .



Listen, fellows, our industries are doing so well, we need more markets. Let's face it, we need a foothold in Asia. Those rebels in the Philippines, now . . . why don't we go in and give them a helping hand?

More War!
The U.S. versus the Filipinos

In 1899, war broke out again. This time the rebels were fighting U.S. forces. The Filipinos were fierce fighters, and the U.S. had lots of men and ammunition. The war dragged on . . . and on . . . and on.

April 1899

U.S. General William Shafter:
"It may be necessary to kill half the Filipinos in order that the remaining half of the population may be advanced to a higher plane of life than their present semi-barbarous state affords."

U.S. General Jacob Smith:
"Kill everyone over ten."

This was one of the first guerrilla wars. The rebels were supported by people in the towns and villages. The U.S. soldiers responded by burning villages and killing large numbers of civilians. Fighting continued until 1906. **One-fifth** of the population of the Philippines was killed. Finally the Filipino leaders surrendered.

Think about it:
Is it justifiable to kill civilian populations in war?

June 30, 1898 **Manila Mouthpiece**

U.S. TROOPS ARRIVE

"We are here to help the new freedom fighters of the Philippines!" claimed the U.S. General leading the newly-arrived American troops. "If a few of you will just move aside for us, we will help you take Manila!"

Moving In

BUT when Manila fell and the Spanish were defeated, the Filipinos weren't invited to the negotations. The U.S. had decided to take over.

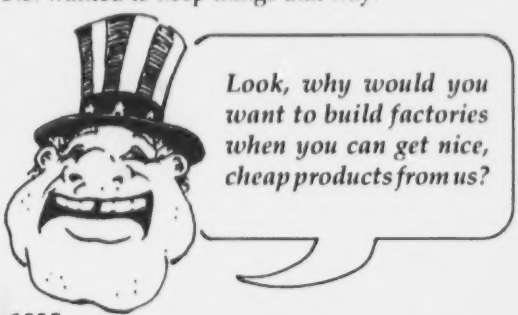
Cartoon from a Minneapolis newspaper of the time.

COLONIAL PATTERNS

As a U.S. colony, the Philippines experienced two colonial problems we've come across before:

1 The Raw Deal

The Philippines had raw materials that the U.S. wanted: sugar, minerals, tobacco, coconuts, and abaca (for hemp). It also had people — potential customers for U.S. manufactured goods. And the U.S. wanted to keep things that way.



1935:

- The U.S. had invested $200 million in the Philippines: 63% of that was in mining, sugar, public utilities, plantations and merchandising.
- Less than 4% was in manufacturing, and most of that was in the processing of raw materials for export.

1941, just before WWII:

- 84% of Philippine imports (manufactured goods) came from the U.S.
- 81% of Philippine exports (raw goods) went to the U.S.

The economy of the Philippines was in U.S. offices. By the 1940s, the Philippines was headed towards political independence, but there were no plans for economic independence!

Think about it:
Do you think the Philippines will be able to break out of being part of the U.S. economy after independence? What will the obstacles be?

2 Holding Up Hierarchies
— cultivating friends for high places

". . . it is not possible to consider the extension of a larger measure of autonomy to the Filipino people until they have demonstrated a readiness and capacity to cooperate fully and effectively with the American government and authorities."
— U.S. President Calvin Coolidge, 1924

The U.S. idea was to educate the Filipinos for "independence," but they wanted Filipino leaders who agree with U.S. interests. Looking around, they found a group of Filipinos who fit into their plans: the wealthy landowners.

Who wants independence? We're doing well selling our sugar and coconuts to the Americans.

My big problem is my workers. They keep demanding more pay and medicine!

If the Philippines becomes independent, these peasants are going to start demanding land. Then where will we be?

In 1907 the Filipinos were given some representation. The representatives were all wealthy landowners hand-picked by the U.S. Government.

And that was just the beginning! Very wealthy landowners were appointed by the U.S. to many official posts: judges, seats on council — you name it. Other upper middle class Filipinos were educated to fit in with this group by being selected, sent to U.S. universities, and given a good job in the civil service of the Philippines. These people formed an ***oligarchy*** — a small, wealthy elite who controlled what happened in the Philippines. And this oligarchy was certainly friendly with the U.S.

Think about it:
Do you think this oligarchy will be able to stay in power after independence? What are some of the ways they might try to keep power?

The Early Independence Years — colonialism hangs on

During WWII, the Philippines was occupied by the Japanese and became a major battleground, suffering enormous destruction. At the war's end, the U.S. realized that the Philippines must be given independence.

July 4, 1946 Manila Mouthpiece

The Philippines is Free!

After 400 years of Spanish rule and almost 50 of American rule, the Philippines is free! "This is a great day!" exclaimed new president, Manuel Roxas. "However, we will continue to act in accordance with the interests of our old friend, the United States. We will continue to be open for business."

But the Filipino peasants didn't notice much difference.

"What's changed? I'm still poor. I still don't have any land — that was taken from my family by the Spanish and is still owned by my landlord. And the people who have all the power are the landlords and the army!"

The Oligarchy Carries On

The Presidents of the independent Philippines were men who had close ties with the U.S. The first president, President Manuel Roxas, was publicly supported by General MacArthur, the U.S. general who captured the Philippines from the Japanese. The U.S. Army gave Roxas access to its radio network in the Philippines to help him get elected.

Roxas' first task was a difficult one: to sell a "Free Trade Deal" — the **Bell Trade Act** — to the Filipino parliament.

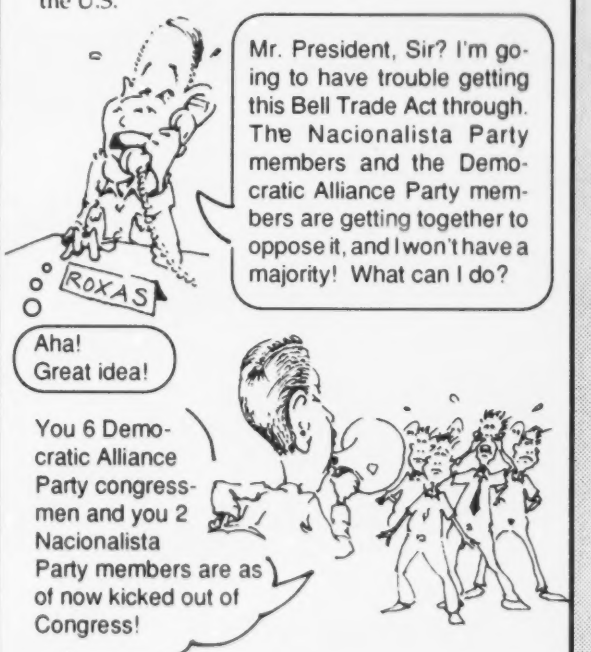
The Bell Trade Act

- Free Trade — no duty on goods between the two countries
- Filipinos were prohibited from selling any products that might "come into substantial competition" with articles made in the U.S. — meaning no manufactured goods.
- Americans had equal rights with Filipinos to own mines, forests and other resources in the Philippines

Think about it:
How would the Bell Trade Act continue the effects of colonialism? How might development be affected?

Persuading Parliament

The Bell Trade Act didn't get through Filipino Parliament easily. Many of the members realized that it would mean continuing dependence on the U.S.


ROXAS
Mr. President, Sir? I'm going to have trouble getting this Bell Trade Act through. The Nacionalista Party members and the Democratic Alliance Party members are getting together to oppose it, and I won't have a majority! What can I do?
Aha! Great idea!
You 6 Democratic Alliance Party congressmen and you 2 Nacionalista Party members are as of now kicked out of Congress!

The Bell Trade Act passed by one vote.

BEST COPY AVAILABLE

Reconstructing Parliament

I'm not sure I'm going to get re-elected! These radical people in Luzon — the peasants and the Democratic Alliance Party — are organizing against me!
ROXAS
Aha! Great idea!
I have now decided to outlaw the Democratic Alliance party, the Communist Party, and all left-wing peasant unions!

Roxas won the election.

For Roxas, as for succeeding presidents, the plan was simple: keep in power, keep the economy open to U.S. business interests, and suppress all opposition. It was a plan that worked right up to 1986, when Ferdinand Marcos was overthrown.

"Nobody would give us our rights or hear our demands. They said we were Communists. I didn't even know what Communism was, and I still don't. But they called you a Communist, and that was that. It made no sense to deny it, because they wouldn't believe you."

— Simeon San Pedro, former Huk, interviewed by Stanley Karnow

Think about it:
People who work for social change in the Philippines are frequently labelled "communist." How might the outlawing of the Communist Party influence development in the Philippines?

Repressing the Opposition

As you might expect, there were a lot of Filipinos who resisted the Roxas plan. Most of them were poor peasants who wanted land or decent wages to feed their families.

Here Come the Huks

The Hukbálahap (or Huk, for short) was a socialist peasant movement based in Luzon, the northern island of the Philippines. During WWII, the Huks — like the Viet Minh in Viet Nam — fought the Japanese, and helped to liberate Luzon. But although they killed 20,000 Japanese and freed several towns, expecting praise from the U.S., the Americans regarded the Huks as dangerous communists (because of their socialist philosophy) and they were often killed or arrested with the help of American soldiers.

In 1945, as the war was ending, the Huks, Communists, Socialists and peasant unions joined together to form a new political party — the Democratic Alliance. When this party was outlawed by Roxas, the first president of the Philippines, the Huks took up their weapons.

The Huk Rebellion lasted from 1946 to 1956. By 1950 the Huks controlled large areas of Luzon, and the U.S. got worried. U.S. advisors arrived in droves, and formed JUSMAG (Joint U.S. Military Advisory Group). They re-organized and directed the Philippine army, which began to successfully suppress the rebellion at the cost of thousands of lives of the ordinary village people of Luzon.

By 1957 it was almost all over, but just to make sure, the government brought in the Anti-Subversion Law: the Communist Party, the Huk movement and "all similar organizations" were outlawed. Communists were subject to the death penalty.

Think about it:
What effect do you think the new improved army might have on the democratic process in the Philippines?

The Land: Promises, Promises

Every president from Roxas on has promised the landless peasants that there would be land reform. But every president has known that if they challenged the powerful landowners (and their friends in the military) they would be in deep trouble. So land reform has never happened. A few powerful families continued to own the land, and the wages they paid were barely enough to survive on.

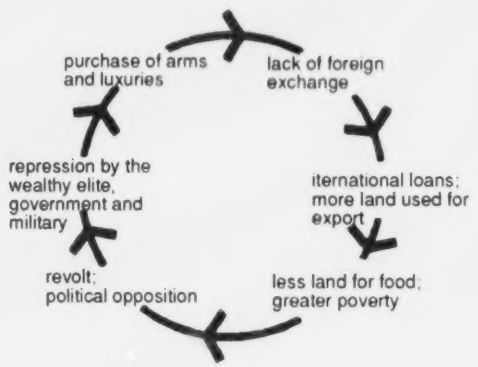
The rich land of the Philippines and the low wages soon attracted multinational agribusiness companies to the Philippines. In the 1970s, two of the biggest pineapple producers in the world, US-owned Del Monte and Dole, announced that they were phasing out operations in Hawaii and increasing production in the Philippines. In 1973, Del Monte paid Hawaiian plantation workers $2.64 an hour, and they paid Filipino workers 15¢ an hour. These companies bought or leased the land from the large landowners, who had more land than they knew what to do with, anyway.

Think about it:
In what ways could the large multinational coporations, such as Del Monte and Dole, be considered the "new colonialists"?

Colonial Patterns

So you see, right from the early years of independence, a pattern was established which has continued until today. One word for this pattern is **neo-colonialism** — a new form of colonialism, where the government of the dominant country doesn't actually run the country, but controls it in other ways.

Keeping the Lid on Revolt


purchase of arms and luxuries
lack of foreign exchange
international loans; more land used for export
less land for food; greater poverty
revolt; political opposition
repression by the wealthy elite, government and military

Think about it:
Can you see how this cycle of militarism and repression works? Can you think of any other countries where this cycle occurs? Where does the U.S. fit into this cycle? What would have to happen to break this cycle?

The Philippines Today

Yeah, but that's all over now. Today the Philippines has got rid of that dictator Marcos, so things must be looking up, right?

Feb. 24, 1986 **Manila Mouthpiece**

People Power Has Won!

Today, President Marcos finally left the Philippines, defeated by the power of the people. Cory Aquino took the reins. "This is a time for change," said Mrs. Aquino.

Well, although great changes were expected when Cory Aquino took power, they haven't happened. Today actually looks a lot like yesterday. Neo-colonialism is alive and well.

check date

THE PHILIPPINES TODAY

Poverty/Resistance/Repression

In the Philippines today:

- 20% of the population owns 80% of the land.
- 59% of Filipinos are rural workers, but few own any land.
- 67% of the nation's rural families (according to the Aquino government) live below the poverty line.
- 9,000,000 children in the Philippines work for extremely low wages; 50% of these children leave school before 6th grade in order to start working.
- the top 20% of the population gets 51% of the total national income.
- A 1988 World Bank Study reports: "there are more poor people in the Philippines today than at any time in recent history." .

Promises, Promises . . .

Cory Aquino, before her election

"Land-to-the-tiller must become a reality, rather than an empty slogan."

Cory Aquino, after her election . . .

In January 1987, soon after her election, a delegation of peasant farmers came to see Cory Aquino to beg for land redistribution. Instead of Mrs. Aquino, they met an army as they crossed the Mendiola Bridge in Manila. The army killed 19 and wounded many more. The "promises, promises" syndrome, it seems, is recurring.

Resistance!

All this poverty, of course, is bound to lead to resistance.

The main resistance comes from peasant and union organizations. There's also armed resistance in many rural areas from the New Peoples Army (NPA). When Cory Aquino was elected, there were negotiations with the NPA. But she refused their main request — land reform. The Mendiola massacre finished off hopes of reconciliation, and the NPA returned to the hills. Cory Aquino declared "total war" on the NPA. Human Rights organizations now report even more incidents of bloody repression than in the Marcos years, because Aquino has given power to right-wing vigilante squads, allowing them to go and kill "communists." Often, definitions of "communist" vary. In June 1988 the Lawyers Committee for Human Rights said that "the human rights of Filipinos have suffered grave violations on a wide scale."

Negros: The Sugar Island

Negros is one of the poorest islands of the Philippines. Its main crop is sugar, and nearly all of its 2,000,000 people are involved in the sugar industry. The workers have always been poor, even when sugar prices were high. But now that the price of sugar is low, things are really bad. Fifty children a day are treated in the government hospital for malnutrition, and many more never make it to the hospital. Families working together in the plantations earn $500 or $600 for the six-month sugar season. They have no running water or electricity, and are usually in perpetual debt to the landlord.

The New Peoples Army is strong in Negros. It includes poor peasants and some priests. In the 1970s, the Jesuit priests invented the slogan for American coffee drinkers: "There's blood in your cup of coffee."

Think about it:

Why do you think priests might become involved in armed revolution? What does the Jesuit slogan mean? Can you think of how buyers of sugar might be able to influence conditions in areas like Negros?

OPEN FOR BUSINESS — THE GLOBAL ECONOMY

The Global Economy Part 1

Taking the Labour to the Coolies

Well, you can't tell me they don't manufacture things in the Philippines! Look at the labels in a lot of clothes and running shoes, and you'll see **Made in the Philippines!**

You're right. But the kind of export industry that the Philippines has developed isn't really helping Filipinos very much. In colonial days, large numbers of "coolies" were often shipped around the world to make sure that jobs got done. Indian and Chinese people were sent to Sri Lanka to pick tea, to Fiji to plant and harvest sugar, to East Africa and Canada to build railways. The system of signing people up, shipping them off and making sure they worked for years just to pay back their fare was called "indentured labour." Now we have a new kind of indentured labour. The new colonialists — the large, multinational companies — bring the work to where the labour is cheapest.

"Our country has one of the lowest wage levels in this part of the world. We intend to see to it that our export programme is not placed in jeopardy by a rapid rise in the wage level."

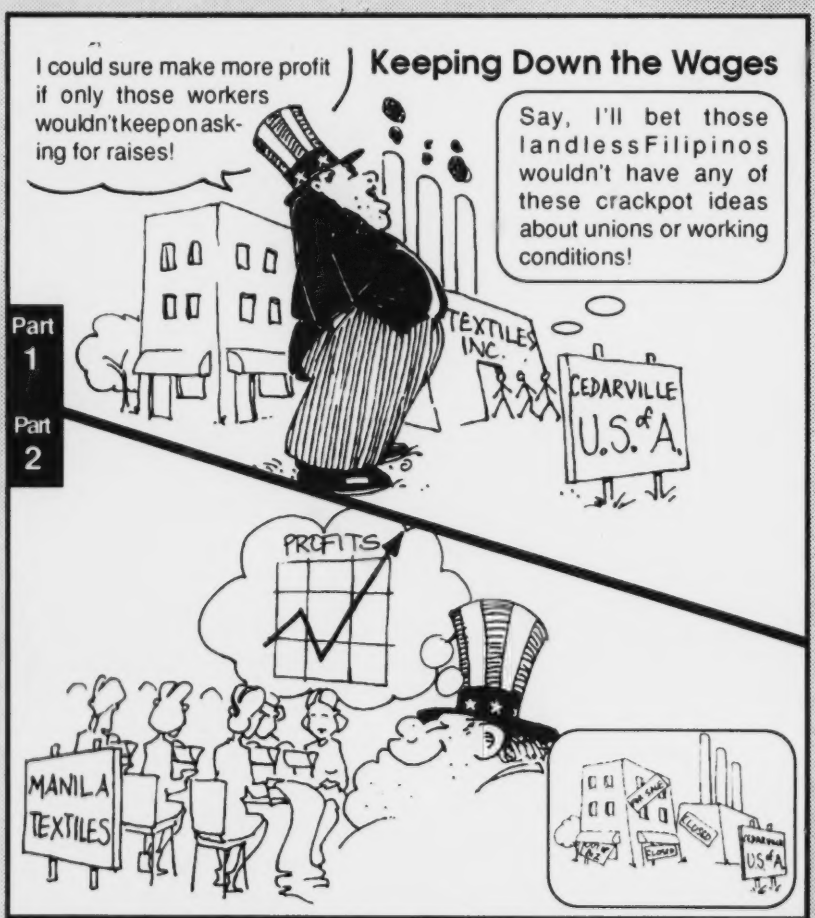
— Ferdinand Marcos, former President of the Philippines

In the Philippines, like a lot of Third World countries:

- wages are low;
- unions are discouraged;
- so many people are unemployed that people will work for very little money;
- there are few rules about health or working conditions.

These people are the "cheap labour" who make many of our clothes, shoes, and electronic equipment.

Keeping Down the Wages


I could sure make more profit if only those workers wouldn't keep on asking for raises!
Say, I'll bet those landless Filipinos wouldn't have any of these crackpot ideas about unions or working conditions!
Part 1
Part 2
TEXTILES INC.
CEDARVILLE U.S. of A.
PROFITS
MANILA TEXTILES
U.S.A.

Free Trade Zones

Free Trade Zones (or FTZs) are places where multinational corporations (MNCs) — large international companies — are encouraged in various ways to set up business. The companies are often given special benefits; for instance, they may not have to pay tax for a number of years. Cheap labour is plentiful, and unions are often illegal in FTZs.

Working in Bataan

The Bataan Free Trade Zone (BFTZ) lies on the shores of Manila Bay in the Philippines. It is about 2 km across and is surrounded by high walls and wire fences. Inside are rows of white, two-storey factory units. No one can enter without a pass and all workers have to carry identity cards. The Zone is governed by its own laws which are enforced by its own armed police force with its own intelligence service. Most of the 16,000 workers in the Zone are young women who have come from poor rural villages. The things which are manufactured are Barbie Dolls, tennis balls, running shoes, disposable cigarette lighters, gloves, scientific optical equipment, plastic flowers, microchips and computer parts, clothing, and shoes.

The British company Baird Textiles shows how companies use free trade zones like BFTZ. Baird operates several clothing factories in different parts of Britain, although some of these have recently shut down to save costs. Its biggest factory, however, is in the Bataan Free Trade Zone. The Baird plant inside the BFTZ is really just a huge cutting and sewing shop, producing women's jackets and raincoats. All the materials, the cloth, zippers, buttons and even the thread come from Hong Kong. All the Filipinos provide is the labour. The finished coats and jackets are shipped direct from the Philippines plant to Baird's warehouse in Britain. There they are repacked and distributed to British stores. In 1982, the Baird plant in Bataan locked out workers when they made demands for back pay.

Fashions for winter, fall, summer, and spring

Comments by the Bataan Free Trade Zone workers:

"Strikes are illegal here in the Zone. They say: 'If you don't like it, you can leave. There are plenty of others queueing up for your jobs.'"

" . . . you have to do overtime. If not you get warnings or they will keep your card and then you can't get your wages."

"The last three weeks before Easter I worked every day from seven in the morning till eight at night. I am flat tired. My salary is 58 pesos (just over $4) per day."

Think about it:

Who benefits from the Free Trade Zones? Since all the materials come from outside the Philippines, do the Free Trade Zones help the Philippine economy much? If there was land reform, and people had the choice to farm their own land, do you think they would choose to work in Bataan? What would the effect on wages be if there was land reform?

The information on the Bataan Free Trade Zone and Baird Textiles is adapted from ***Teaching Development Issues: Work***, by David Cooke.

The Global Economy Part 2

Selling the Environment

"... to attract companies ... like yours ... we have felled mountains, razed jungles, filled swamps, moved rivers, relocated towns, and in their place built power plants, dams, roads ... All to make it easier for you and your business to do business here."

— Ad in Fortune Magazine, run by the Philippine government in 1975

Cut and Run: Logging in the Philippines

In 30 years, the Philippines, once known as the "Hardwood King" of Southeast Asia, has destroyed almost all its forests. Only one million hectares survive, down from approximately 10 million hectares 30 years ago. Under Marcos, the forestry business boomed, and timber companies aggressively cleared the country's forest lands.

Opposition to the clearcuts has come from tribal people. In the mid-1980s, the Atta and Isneg people blocked logging roads to their forests to try to protect their way of life. The response: bombings and killings carried out by the Philippine army, who claimed that the Atta and Isneg people were members of the New Peoples Army.

Meanwhile, the National Environmental Protection Council of the Philippines reports that nearly 75% of the land of the Philippines is suffering from severe erosion. With an average 355 cm of rainfall a year, the land needs trees to help it absorb large amounts of water. Under Corazon Aquino, no new logging concessions (licences) were granted, but no old ones were taken away. And the country's soil washes to the sea.

Think about it:
What does this army action suggest about the link between timber interests and the Philippine army?

Low pollution standards, lack of environmental standards for mining and forestry, all add up to one thing. Business is cheaper in the Philippines!

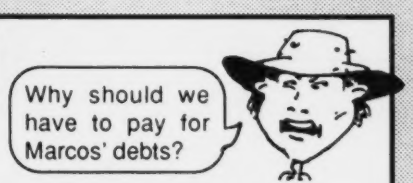
Think about it:
If Third World countries have low environmental standards, what does this mean for countries like Canada?

The Global Economy Part 3

Debt Bondage

The debt crisis in the Philippines, as in most developing countries, stems from sinking commodity prices. When commodity prices took a nose-dive, governments borrowed more in hopes that the prices would improve. They didn't.

But in the case of the Philippines, there was another debt factor — Ferdinand and Imelda Marcos. When Marcos came to power in 1966, the Philippine debt stood at under $1 billion; when he left in 1986 the debt stood at $28 billion. A lot of that money went straight into the pockets of Ferdinand and Imelda Marcos. Estimates vary from $5 billion to $20 billion. So a lot of Filipinos are asking this question:



Right now, 40% of the Philippine budget goes to pay the interest on the debt. The IMF, who supervises the payment of the Philippine debt, has said that the budget must be cut. The peso must be devalued (people's earnings will be worth less). The cereal grain subsidy, which was to help people afford rice, must be stopped. Fuel, power and water rates must be increased.

Think about it:
Which people are hurt the most by these IMF "adjustment" measures? Should the Philippines have to repay loans which went to enrich the Marcos family?

Bucking the big boys

7 under the gun

Vietnam discovers the cost of choosing a non-western path of development

So what would happen if a colony decided not to go along with the mother country like the Philippines did?

Well, let's just say that any colony wanting to reject the western "free trade" philosophy got a rough ride. Take Vietnam, for instance.

Colonization: Stage 1

Nam Viet — as Vietnam was once called — was annexed in 111 BC. by China, and remained part of China for a thousand years. Like later colonial powers, the Chinese demanded forced labour and a share of the farmers' crops. Revolt followed revolt. Finally, in 938 A.D., the Vietnamese vanquished the Chinese army. Vietnam was free, although it still continued to pay some taxes to China.

The Independence Years

For the next 900 years, Vietnam was ruled by a series of dynasties — families of emperors. Outsiders — including the Chinese and the dreaded Mongols — tried attacking, but they were driven back.

Then came the Europeans. The first Portuguese sailors arrived in 1516. They were followed by the French and the Dutch. However, Vietnam didn't have spices, rich fabrics or jewels like India or the Dutch East Indies, and trading was limited. One group, however, found a fertile field for their endeavors: the missionaries.

The Word and the Empire

In 1847, Emperor Thieu Tri got difficult.

I'm tired of all these priests with their western religion! What's wrong with good old-fashioned Confucianism?

He expelled most of the missionaries. The French were furious!

Expel our priests, will they! We'll attack Danang Harbour!

The French government was feeling that they'd like a few Asian colonies, and here was a good excuse. Starting in 1858, the French moved in and slowly took over not just Vietnam, but Cambodia and Laos. In 1887, France united all its territories under the name *Union Indochinoise*, or *French Indo-China*.

Of Railways and Mines — Grim Figures

- 80,000 people were kidnapped and forced to build the Vietnamese railway. 25,000 of them died on the job.
- Conditions in French coal mines were so brutal that Vietnamese people refused to work in them voluntarily. Desrousseaux, Inspector of Mines, wrote a secret report addressed to the Governor General:

"The peasants will consent to go and work outside their villages only when they are dying of starvation. We must therefore arrive at the conclusion that in order to extricate ourselves from the difficulty of recruiting labour, we must see to it that the countryside is plunged into poverty."

The French made sure the people were poor by demanding high taxes (to be paid in cash).

Vietnamese Deaths on French Rubber Plantations, 1917 - 1945

Plantation	*Total Employed*	*Total Deaths*
Dau Tieng (Michelin)	45,000	12,000
Loc Ninh and Minh Thanh (Cexco)	37,000	10,000

Grabbing the Land

Before the French came, most Vietnamese had their own land. But taxes changed all that. The French used the village heads to collect high taxes in cash. Peasants who couldn't pay borrowed money at high rates of interest, and often ended up losing their land when they couldn't repay the money. By 1930, two-thirds of the land was in French control, and 70% of the Vietnamese were landless.

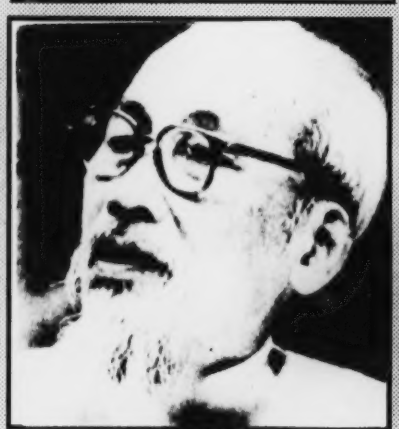
Struggling for Freedom: De-Colonization

In Vietnam, the struggle for independence never stopped.

QUITTEZ VIET-NAM!
ALLEZ VOUS EN!
One revolt after another — it never stops. And these revolutionary left-wing groups we have to keep crushing! Won't they ever realize that La France, *c'est la meilleure?*

Ho Chi Minh

Ho Chi Minh, the son of a poor family, left Vietnam at the age of 21 as a galley boy on a French freighter. In Paris he joined the Communist Party and travelled to Moscow. In 1930 Ho founded the Indochina Communist Party. Like Gandhi, Ho tried to expand his party to include the peasants. By 1931, this party had 1,500 members, and 100,000 peasants affiliated with it.



Ho Takes Control

When World War II broke out, the French (controlled by the Nazis who had invaded their country) cooperated with the Japanese, allowing them to occupy Vietnam. Ho Chi Minh formed the ***Viet Minh*** — the League for the Independence of Vietnam — to fight against the Japanese invaders. The Viet Minh received support from the U.S. Office of Stategic Services (the fore-runner of the CIA). By 1945, Ho's Viet Minh forces had taken control of large areas of northern Vietnam.

Liberation! (for awhile)

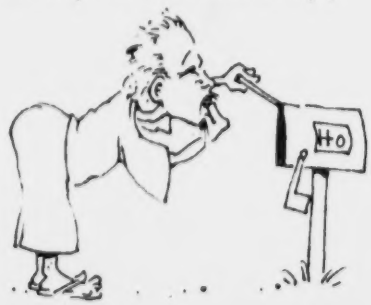
On August 14, 1945, Japan surrendered. Allied leaders decided that Britain would occupy the south of Vietnam, in order to disarm the Japanese soldiers, and that China would disarm the Japanese soldiers in the north. But the Vietnamese were tired of having others make decisions for their country. Ho Chi Minh and his Viet Minh marched out of the hills and took over the country. Bao Dai, the former emperor, handed over his sword and seal to Ho's new government.

September 2, 1945 **Hanoi Herald**

Vietnam Independent!

Ho Chi Minh entered Hanoi and declared the birth of a new nation: the Democratic Republic of Vietnam. "We will abolish unfair taxes, redistribute land, and maintain good relations with our friends, the U.S. and European countries. We will soon have democratic elections," said Ho.

Ho, during this period, believed that his friends the Americans, who supported him during his resistance against the Japanese, would help him. He wrote letters to the president asking for aid and friendship. But there was no reply.



Colonialism — the Western Fist

Why didn't the U.S. and other western countries support Ho Chi Minh?
Well, the Europeans and Americans were worried about Ho.
This guy's popular. He'll win the elections. And he's a Commie! We've got to stop him from taking over! Listen to what he's saying in his speeches!

Speech by Ho

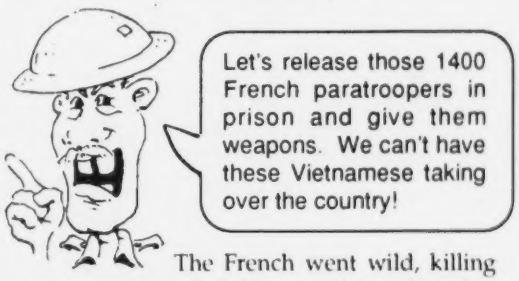
We will "stimulate the socialist construction of the country; build the material and technical base for socialism; ensure that our country passes from small-scale to large-scale socialist construction."

Think about it:
Why do you think the western powers supported Roxas in the Philippines, but weren't keen on Ho Chi Minh?

Colonialism: The Sequel

The French Take Over (Again!)

At the end of the war, the British arrived, under General Gracey, to disarm the Japanese in the south. But they had another agenda.


Let's release those 1400 French paratroopers in prison and give them weapons. We can't have these Vietnamese taking over the country!

The French went wild, killing men, women and children, and overthrowing the temporary Vietnamese government. Then more French came.

Sept. 24, 1945 **Saigon News**

The French Take Over

French General Jacques Philippe Leclerc has arrived in Saigon. "We have come to reclaim our inheritance," he announced as his ship landed.

Meanwhile, in the North, the Chinese were also trying to take over. Ho Chi Minh decided to make a deal with the French, to allow French troops into Vietnam to drive out the Chinese, in return for French recognition of the Democratic Republic of Vietnam. The French didn't keep their side of the agreement. They came in with their troops and took over. The Viet Minh tried negotiations, but got nowhere. Then came the final straw — the French massacred 6,000 Vietnamese in the city of Haiphong. Ho Chi Minh and his followers left for their hideouts in the hills. The war was on!

The Great Proclamation

Our people long ago established Vietnam as an independent nation with its own civilization. We have our own mountains and our own rivers, our own customs and traditions, and these are different from those of the foreign country to the north. . . We have sometimes been weak and sometime powerful, but at no time have we suffered from a lack of heroes.

— written in the 15th century by Nguyen Trai

The Franco - Vietnam War

(1946-54)

The French persuaded Bao Dai, the same former emperor who had handed his sword and seal to Ho Chi Minh, , to be the head of a Vietnamese "government" which was really a puppet of France. Bao Dai's government was recognized in February 1950 by the United States, Britain, Thailand, and the rest of the "Free World," including Canada.

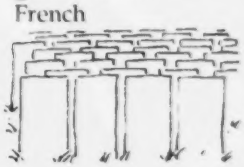
Although the war was between France and the Viet Minh, the U.S. were an important part of the support team. In 1950, the first U.S. advisors arrived. Massive U.S. aid poured in for the French-backed government. By 1954, U.S. military aid to the French was over 2 billion dollars — 78% of the total cost.

The Viet Minh headed for the hills, where they were fed and helped by the people in the country. They controlled large parts of rural Vietnam, and fought a guerrilla war against the French. It was an un-winnable war for the French, because the people of Vietnam were determined to be independent. In 1954 the Viet Minh stormed an important French base at Dien Bien Phu, and the French finally gave up. The next day, negotiations began in Geneva.

The Final Count

French:
35,000 men killed,
48,000 wounded

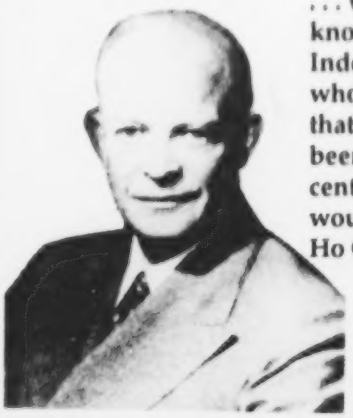
Vietnamese: casualties unknown, but greater than the French



1954: The Final Agreement

- Vietnam was divided ***temporarily*** at the 17th parallel into North Vietnam (under the government of Ho Chi Minh) and South Vietnam.
- Free elections were to be held on July 20, 1956. At that time, the people could decide for themselves whether they wanted to re-unite, and who they wanted to lead them. An international commission composed of representatives of Poland, India and Canada was appointed to supervise the elections.

The Elections that Never Happened:



"I have never talked . . . with a person knowledgeable in Indochinese affairs, who did not agree that had the elections been held . . . 80 per cent of the population would have voted for Ho Chi Minh."

Dwight D. Eisenhower, U.S. President (in his memoirs):

But the elections never took place. The U.S. was afraid that elections would mean victory for Ho Chi Minh. Vietnam remained divided between north and south. The U.S. poured money into the South Vietnam government of Ngo Dinh Diem, who they considered a "buffer" against Communism. They also sent military advisors. Diem wasn't the ideal leader to sink money into; he was famous for rigged elections and for torturing thousands of political prisoners.

Think about it:
Why do you think Canada, which was part of the international commission, didn't insist on the elections? Could this have been related to Canada's international alliances?

The Vietnam War

By 1959, many of the Vietnamese in the South were fed up.

Dear Ho,
The political struggle against Diem isn't working, because he just kills and tortures his opposition. We need armed struggle. Please help us!

By 1961, the war had begun. Ho's National Liberation Front (often called the Vietcong) announced plans to drive out foreign troops and reunite Vietnam. In 1964, army units from North Vietnam began to march in. The South Vietnamese army under Diem was in bad shape; 2,000 men were deserting per month.

What the President Said:

". . . if we don't stop the Reds in South Vietnam, tomorrow they will be in Hawaii and the next week they will be in San Francisco."
— President Lyndon Johnson

". . . victory for the Vietcong . . . would mean ultimately the destruction of freedom of speech for all men for all time not only in Asia but in the United States as well."
— President Richard Nixon

The U.S. Steps In

The U.S. decided it was time to act. President Kennedy sent more and more military advisors to South Vietnam: 16,300 by the end of 1963. But still the South was losing. In 1964 the U.S. policy changed to one of outright war. By December 1967, there were 485,600 U.S. soldiers in Vietnam and 16,021 had died. Bombing raids ripped through North Vietnam. Altogether, U.S. bombers hit 4000 out of North Vietnam's 5788 villages, as well as almost all the roads and bridges. Huge areas of the North were sprayed with defoliants such as Agent Orange — a policy which would ravage the environment of Vietnam for decades to come. All in all, about 10% of Vietnam's population — north and south — were killed.

Finally, the perseverance of the Viet Cong and massive anti-war protests in the U.S. ended the war. On January 27, 1973, the U.S. agreed to withdraw. President Nixon promised $3.25 billion in war reparations would be paid to North Vietnam. (It was never paid.) The South Vietnamese army collapsed in April, 1975 and the North took over. Vietnam was finally re-united, but at an enormous cost.

The Price of Resistance

In 1975 a United Nations mission visiting Vietnam in 1976 reported this:

In the North

- Railroads couldn't run, because most of the bridges had been blown up.
- Tonkin's system of dikes, over 2,000 years old, was terribly damaged.
- 29 of the 30 provincial capitals were damaged and 9 of them completely destroyed.
- Thousands of villages were damaged and several dozen completely destroyed.
- Vietnam's forests and fruit trees had been completely stripped by defoliants like Agent Orange.

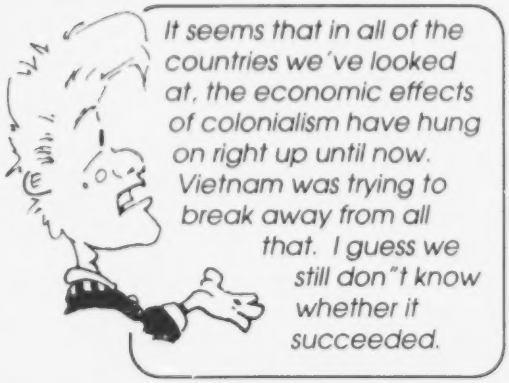
In the South

- The economy was dependent on foreign countries, and fleeing bankers had stolen most of the country's foreign exchange.

Vietnam Today

Today, Vietnam is one of the poorest countries of the world. Its average income per person is $240. It's also heavily in debt. Although the U.S. promised to pay $3.25 billion in war reparations, Vietnam hasn't received any aid from western countries. In fact, the U.S. began a trade embargo against Vietnam, and as much as possible stopped the other western countries from giving aid or from trading with Vietnam. The Canadian government, for instance, has not given aid to Vietnam.

In an effort to try to get some support from western countries, Vietnam is now rethinking Ho Chi Minh's socialism, and started ***doi moi*** — a free market system.


It seems that in all of the countries we've looked at, the economic effects of colonialism have hung on right up until now. Vietnam was trying to break away from all that. I guess we still don't know whether it succeeded.

Well, the good news is that since the end of the war, Vietnam has been united. And the same qualities that made the Vietnamese people so resistant to overwhelming military force may help them to find and follow their own path of development.

Colonial patterns die hard

8 free trade?

Ex-colonies face pressures to keep the same old pattern of providing materials and markets for the rich.

I guess I kind of see that colonialism has something to do with a lot of Asian countries being poor. But I still don't see why they can't just change the pattern now that they're independent!

It's not so easy to change the pattern. Let's have a look at what things keep the poor countries in their place.

Crisis 1: Locked into Commodities

When the colonies got their independence, they were locked into producing commodities. They had few factories or processing plants; all their roads and railways had been built for one purpose:

export

And commodities are a disaster. The prices just keep on falling!

But why can't all the commodity-exporting countries get together and keep the prices up?

They've tried. Occasionally they've had success. The oil-exporting countries (OPEC) kept up the price of oil for awhile, and that certainly made the industrialized countries hopping mad!

But oil was a special case: an essential commodity. With other commodities, it's hard to keep prices up. Usually what happens is that countries are all encouraged to produce as much as they can, and the price goes down.

Developing countries " . . . produce what they do not consume and consume what they do not produce."

— Samir Amin, political economist and Director of the UN Institute for Africa

NIEO

In 1973, the developing countries got together and called for a **New International Economic Order (NIEO)**

We should have a system of trade that gives us fair prices for our commodities.

When we do try to manufacture products, you rich countries slap on tariffs and quotas.

We should have more access to northern markets for our manufactured goods.

But they didn't get far. The industrialized countries (those ex-mother countries) wanted to keep things just the way they were.

But why can't the developing countries start manufacturing and processing their commodities before they export them?

Lots of reasons. All developing countries want to increase the **value added** to their commodities before they're shipped out, but they face a lot of problems!

Trade Problem 1: Catching Up

When the colonies finally became independent, they started out with a big handicap. While the mother countries had been using the wealth of the colonies to develop technology and industries, the colonies had been left out in the cold. They didn't have factories or technology, and they had to compete with countries who had been industrializing for the last 100 years. The ex-colonies would have to hire technical advisors, begin to build processing plants. What did they need? Lots of money! And that's what they didn't have.

One answer was to "sell out" to foreign companies, allowing them to come in and establish plants and factories. The trouble with that method was that most of the money and the benefits went off to distant head offices.

Trade Problem 2: Tariffs and Quotas

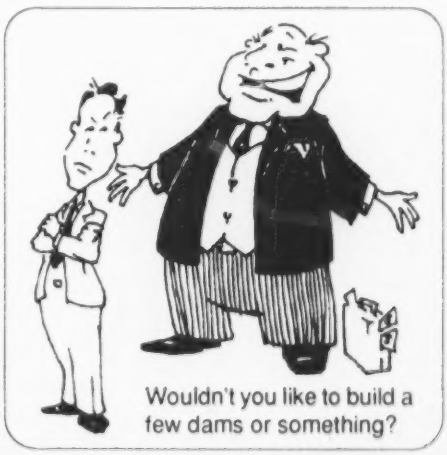
The developed countries often put heavy tariffs (or import taxes) on manufactured or processed goods from developed countries. Palm oil, a major African export, faces only a 4% tariff if comes to the European Common Market in its crude form, but is subject to a 12% tariff if it is partly refined. Sometimes, developed countries have import quotas on manufactured goods — they will only allow a certain number in.

And to make matters worse, most Third World countries now face another crisis — the debt crisis.

I don't get it! How did these ex-colonies get so deeply into debt?

Crisis 2: Another Day Older and Deeper in Debt

Well, a lot of the problem was the banks. Banks in North America and Europe had a lot of money they wanted to lend out in the 1970s, and no one wanted to borrow it. So they did a hard sell job to Third World countries.



A few dams and factories were built, and sometimes money went into the bank accounts of the elite. Then the interest rates went shooting up, the commodity prices took a nosedive, and the developing countries were left trying to borrow more money just to pay the interest on their loans. For the past 5 years, the Third World has paid **$155 billion a year** to the First world in interest payments and debt repayments!

This has lead to a whole new bag of debt problems.

Debt Problem 1: Mining the Land

There's only one way to pay this debt. That's to grow more export crops, hack down our forests, and mine our resources.

Think about it:
What effect will increased exports of raw materials have on the environment of the developing countries? On the food intake levels of the local population?

If you want any more loans, you'll have to

- *open your markets up to foreign manufactured goods*
- *devalue your money (make it worth less)*
- *increase your exports of raw goods.*
- *And for goodness sake, cut down on those health clinics and schools; you're spending too much money!*

Problem 2: The IMF — Controlling Interest

"IMF, dirty IMF takes away everything it can get"
— from "Call It Democracy," Bruce Cockburn, Canadian Musician

IMF Quit India
— graffiti seen on a wall in Delhi, India

The **International Monetary Fund** (IMF) was created in 1944 as a fund to which members could contribute, and from which they could borrow — a kind of cooperative bank.

Sounds like a good idea!

It was. But in the the early 1980s, with so many developing countries suffering from huge debt problems, the IMF took on a new role. It became an enforcer for the banks, and its plan seemed — to a lot of developing countries — to be simple: re-colonization.

To many of the people in developing countries, the IMF Structural Adjustment Plans (SAPs) are a recipe for disaster. They are not able to protect their own struggling industries, because they are forced to open up their markets to foreign manufactured goods. Prices of commodities go down, because all the Third World countries are manufacturing as many exports as possible. Poor people suffer because their money is devalued and social spending is cut.

Think about it:
In what way is the IMF recipe for recovery (see the bottom left corner of this page) a recipe for continuing the patterns of colonialism?

And right now, the First World powers are busy hatching a new scheme — Free Trade throughout the world.
Free trade? Isn't that a good thing?
Well, you've always got to ask the question: Good for whom?

graphic: *New Internationalist*

Crisis 3: GATT

GATT?
What's that?

The **General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade** (GATT) was founded in 1948. It was an agreement worked out by 23 of the world's richer countries. The idea was to allow each other "most favoured nation" status — in other words, few or no tariffs, and borders kept open to the flow of goods. But only for each other; the other, poorer nations were still kept out. This was a great way of keeping the newly-independent colonies in their place — as producers of raw commodities.

In order to joint GATT, developing countries have had to promise that they won't protect their own infant industries by putting up tariffs or trade barriers. This is pretty hard on the developing countries, because their industries are just starting, and need protecting in their early years.

" . . . a few multinational corporations . . . control the dominant share of world production and world trade. To ask Third World countries with small firms, very often family-sized firms, to compete on the same terms with the multinational companies is going to lead to a situation in which we can predict that the small farms, small firms, small industries and the small service sectors of the Third World are going to be crushed underfoot."

— Martin Khor, Research Director of the Consumers' Association of Penang, Malaysia

GATT on the Go

The latest round of GATT negotiations is about service industries: things like banking, insurance, media, doctors, and tour agencies.

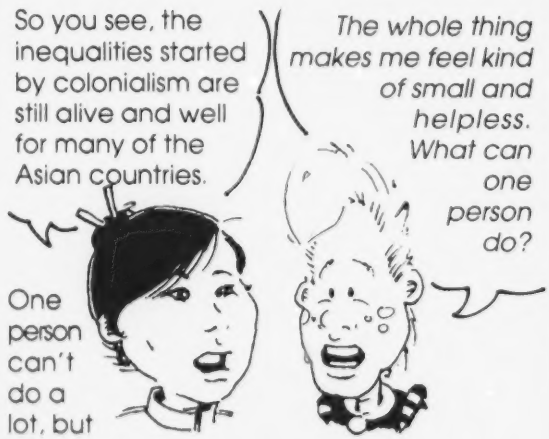
Smitu Kothari, an analyst from India, said on a recent CBC radio program:

"This is the re-colonization of the world!"

Kothari pointed out that if a country did not agree to have its service industries opened up to free trade, GATT would impose international trade barriers against the country — an economic blockade.

(CBC Ideas Program, Interview with David Caley, Dec. 8/92)

Think about it:
If the idea of GATT is to re-colonize the world, who are the new colonizers? How would they benefit if service industries were opened up to "free trade"?


So you see, the inequalities started by colonialism are still alive and well for many of the Asian countries.
The whole thing makes me feel kind of small and helpless. What can one person do?
One person can't do a lot, but all over

countries like India and the Philippines there are groups of people struggling for change and equality. And it's important for Canadians to look critically at what's happening in the world, too. Just look at what you've learned already!

Activities and Resources

9 hands on

Now that we've read about colonialism in Asia, let's do something.

All Chapters

Sci-Fi Colonialism

A common feature of colonialism is the suppression of a large number of people by a small number of people who possess superior force.

In a Small Group:

Discuss: What are the elements that allow the rule of the many by the few? ***Consider these factors:*** weapons, forms of transport, navigational technology, ruthlessness, belief that one's own civilization is superior, racist attitudes, divide and rule techniques.

Transpose this colonial situation to the future:
What would happen in a futurist colonial situation? Don't be afraid to throw around wild ideas. Here are a couple of possible starters:

— *Canada is invaded by a small group of people (either from earth or elsewhere) with superior technology and a mission to change and adapt Canadian society to suit their own needs and ideas.*

— *As Planet Earth becomes increasingly polluted and overpopulated, a group of Canadian scientists and their families develop the space transport and weapons they will need to seek new planetary territory. They meet beings whose ideas and cultures are very different from their own.*

You're sure to come up with more!

On Your Own or With a Partner:

After the group discussion, begin to write a short story, play or radio play about how a similar situation could occur in a futuristic setting (either with a partner or on your own). Try to transpose as many of the features of historical colonialism as possible to your futuristic setting. Think about what your "heroes" will do about:

— religion
— owning land
— "persuading" inhabitants to work in mines and on plantations for low wages
— collecting wealth
— taxing the inhabitants
— working with existing rulers
— suppressing revolt

[For a simulation game with many of these elements, play "Tiff" in ***Colonialism in the Americas***, VIDEA, 1991.]

Chapter 2

The Peripatetic Portuguese

In the late 15th and early 16th centuries, the Portuguese — with a population of just over one million people (about two-thirds the size of Greater Vancouver) managed to control most of the trade of Asia, and colonize a good deal of the world, maintaining forts right around Africa and up into Asia. How was this possible?

Research one of these early Portuguese explorers or colonizers in Asia: Bartholomeu Dias, Vasco da Gama, Ferdinand Magellan, Alfonso de Albuquerque. What can you learn about their motivation, their skill, their attitudes towards the Asian people, their methods?

Chapter 3

Colonial Forecasts

Each of the 6 " building blocks" of colonialism (pp. 8 - 10) ends with a "Think About It" question. In small groups, try your skills at forecasting.

- Divide into 6 groups.
- Choose a recorder for each group.
- Each group take one of the "building blocks," and consider the question at the end. How might this colonial pattern affect the future development of an Asian country with a long history of craft production and a political structure of small self-reliant regions ruled by princes?
- Spend 10 minutes brainstorming — coming up with as many ideas as possible about how this aspect of colonialism might affect future development.
- Look up, on pp. 13 - 17, the description of what happened in India. Did any of your brainstorming ideas appear?
- Prepare a 2-minute report for the rest of the class on the "building block" and how it influenced the development of India.

Chapters 3-4

A Quantity of Quotations

Each of the following quotations expresses a distinct point of view about colonialism. In small groups, discuss each quotation, then rank them in order, from the one your group agrees with most, to the one you disagree with most.

"What began with the holocaust of the native Americans, twelve million of whom died in the first 40 years of Columbian invasion and expansion, continued in Africa where two hundred million died in the Atlantic slave trade and spread to Asia where countless numbers perished under the yoke of colonialism." — Evelyne Hong, historian

"By the later nineteenth century the British had achieved much in India. They had imposed law and order on a sub-continent which had been in chaos. They had given India an advanced system of centralized government, well-calculated laws, honest courts, an improving police force and a first-class army." — D.K. Fieldhouse, historian

"Those parts of India which have been the longest under British rule are the poorest today .... Nearly all our major problems today have grown up during British rule and as a direct result of British policy..." (Jawaharlal Nehru, later to become India's first prime minister, in 1944. As he wrote, Nehru was sitting in a jail cell in a British jail in India, serving his 9th term of imprisonment.)

"Europe's colonization of the world was neither a chain of crimes nor a chain of beneficence; it was the birth of the modern world itself."
— Herbert Lüthy, historian

"What conquest does is it either eliminates a people or subordinates them completely. It makes them into a different type of human being and even after they get liberated they take quite some time to come into their own."
— Dharampal, Indian historian and thinker

"Take up the White Man's burden —
Send forth the best ye breed —
Go bind your sons to exile
To serve your captives' need;
To wait in heavy harness,
On fluttered folk and wild —
Your new-caught sullen peoples,
Half devil and half child ...."
— Rudyard Kipling, poet

"It may be necessary to kill half the Filipinos in order that the remaining half of the population may be advanced to a higher plane of life than their present semi-barbarous state affords."
U.S. General William Shafter, 1899

Chapters 3-4

West is Best

Read pages 10 and 16-17 (West is Best). Imagine that you are the Minister of Education for Vai Doa, a small Asian country which has only recently become independent after 150 years of colonial occupation.

Individual Activity: Write out your 10-point position paper outlining the future educational system in Vai Doa. How will you change the eduation to erase the effects of "West is Best" education?

Group Activity: Meet as a committee, including not only the Minister of Education, but ministers of culture, agriculture and economic development. Together, consider the type of education which would be most appropriate for Vai Doa, which would encourage pride, initiative and self-reliance. Develop a 10-point position paper.

We Are Not Amused

Chapter 4

Read the quotes by Jawarharlal Nehru (first Prime Minister of India) on pages 9 and 13. Nehru, Gandhi, and many other Indian intellectuals blamed British rule for most of India's continuing problems of religious and ethnic conflict, under-industrialization and poverty.

With a partner, imagine a conversation between Queen Victoria and Nehru on the benefits and disadvantages of colonialism.

This dialogue could not have occurred in real life, since Queen Victoria actually died when Nehru was twelve. She lived from 1819 to 1901. Nehru lived from 1889 to 1964.

Write out and enact your dialogue.

Raw Deals for Whom?

Chapters 4 & 8

Read "The Raw Deal," p. 14, and Chapter 8, pp. 37 - 39. Now read this statement made by Joe Clark, former Canadian Secretary of State for External Affairs, in the mid-1980s.

"Interdependence is no longer a vague notion, but a central fact of daily life. This has given development co-operation added and urgent importance.... It is an essential investment in our own future prosperity, which will depend upon the economic health of our trading partners."

This point of view, sometimes called "enlightened self-interest" argues that it is in Canadian self-interest to keep our trading partners in the Third World wealthy enough that they are able to buy Canadian goods.

Imagine that you are India's representative to the United Nations. Prepare the speech that you will deliver to the U.N., pointing out to the richer nations that sinking commodity prices and debt will, in the end, hurt manufacturers in the developed countries. Suggest some creative solutions.

Quitting India

Chapter 5

The "Quit India" placards were around for quite awhile before the British took the hint. Two of the major landmarks in the achievement of Indian independence were the General Dyer's massacre at Jallian Walla and Gandhi's walk to the sea. Read p. 19, then research one of these incidents in your school and public libraries.

Now put all the information you have gathered into an "on the spot" radio newscast or newspaper article. In your newscast or article you may choose to interview anyone you like: British administrators, soldiers, members of the Congress Party, men or women on the street.

If you're producing a newscast, see if you can tape-record it, getting your friends to help you with the interviews. You may also have the resources to enact and videotape a T.V. newscast, although that may be more difficult.

Hanging On

Chapter 6

Stanley Karnow, U.S. analyst, writes: **"The top 20% of the Philippines population receives half the country's income. An America Jesuit scholar, Father John Doherty, has estimated that 60 families control the Philippine economy. They have also dominated the political scene from the start of the U.S. colonial era to the Aquino government. Despite their Americanized hoopla, elections are actually contests between rival clans, and the "showcase of democracy" is a facade that only transparently conceals the rule of an elite that has consistently refused to surrender its privileges."**

One of the essential features of colonialism in the Philippines is the way people from a few powerful families were "groomed" to take over the ruling of the Philippines. Even Cory Aquino, on whom so many Filipinos pinned their hopes, came from one of these wealthy, powerful families.

With a partner, write and present a dialogue between a member of the NPA (p. 27) and Cory Aquino or another wealthy member of the government. Show the differing perspectives on:

- the reasons for poverty in the Philippines
- what changes are necessary in the Philippines
- the rate of change which is necessary
- how change might come about

The Philippines and Vietnam

Chapters 6-7

Read the sections on the colonial histories of the Philippines and Vietnam, pp. 21 - 36. Think of all the ways in which the two histories are similar, and they ways in which they are different. List the similarities and differences in expanded point form: for each point, list the main heading, then write a sentence or two explaining more fully what you mean.

Who's Civilized?

All Chapters

When asked what he thought of western civilization, Gandhi replied,

"It would be a good idea."

Discuss what Gandhi meant.

graphic: D. Cooke, *Teaching Development Issues: Work*

"If you're quite sure you don't know what a strike is, we're going to build a car factory here."

Chapter 6

Working in the Global Economy

In a small group read pp. 28 - 29. Choose a recorder (or perhaps a different recorder for each question). Discuss the meaning of the cartoon above, focusing on these questions:

- What difference will it make to workers in Canada if manufacturing plants are moved from Canada to countries like the Philippines or Korea?
- If you were a unionized worker in a Canadian manufacturing industry, what changes (if any) would you support in your workplace/in Canada/in the Philippines/in the world (including the United Nations)?
- If you were the owner of a manufacturing company, what changes (if any) would you support in your manufacturing plant/in Canada/in the Philippines/in the world (including the United Nations)?

Prepare to report your ideas back to the rest of the class.

Chapter 6

The Sole Problem

Take off your shoes and see where they are made. In your class, calculate the percentage of shoes made in Canada, Asia, and the rest of the world.

Read pp. 28 - 29. Discuss:

- why so few shoes are now made in Canada (not too many years ago, companies like North Star made their shoes in Canada);
- what effect this has on the Canadian economy;
- what you can do about this situation;
- what Canada can do about this situation.

Chapter 6

The Environmental Buck Stops Here!

Read p. 30. Canada and the Philippines both share a common area of controversy: forestry. In both countries, large mutlinational companies do most of the logging. In both countries, indigenous people and environmentalists argue that commercial logging is threatening other values such as fishing, wildlife, and the longterm survival of the planet.

Part 1:

Clippings * Clippings * Clippings

Spend 2 to 3 weeks building a bulletin board record of conflict between large companies and environmentalists in forestry and other areas. Do all the reading and research you can.

Part 2: Do 1 of these 2 activities

The Great Debate

Prepare for a debate on this question:

Capitalism threatens the continuance of life on earth.

or

The Great Round Table

Prepare for a round table discussion on forestry issues. The following group interests should be represented in your discussion:

- the head of a large multinational logging company with operations in Canada and Asia
- a Canadian logger
- an Asian logger
- a Canadian indigenous person
- an Asian indigenous person (this person might be from Malaysia, where the Penang people are struggling against large forest companies)
- an environmentalist (with a broad worldview)
- representatives from both the Canadian and the Philippine governments
- a youth representative

You may want to involve a larger number by having advisory groups for each representative.

The task of this round table discussion: to develop world guidelines for forestry practices.

Land and Guns: A Simulation

Chapter 6

A Scenario from the Philippines

In the southern Philippines, a meeting is taking place in a small community. In the distance sprawls the vast pineapple plantation of a multinational company. The people at the meeting are listening to a young man tell how company agents bulldozed his land and prepared it for pineapple planting, while he stood by helplessly. Far off in the capital city, government officials discuss how a recent purchase of helicopter gunships has raise the country's foreign debt a few notches. A decision is made to encourage large corporations to increase exports as a way of paying the interest on the debt.

There are a number of players, both in the scene and just outside the scene, which must be considered in analyzing this situation. They are listed on the right.

The Simulation:

- Divide into groups, each taking one of the roles listed. One person (teacher or student) should take the role of moderator.
- Look at "Keeping the Lid on Revolt", p. 26. Suppose that the landless farmers decide to march on the government to demand land reform. What will the response of each of the groups be? Decide as a group what your course of action should be. The moderator will ask each group to report. Based on the reactions of the different groups, try another round.

Discussion:

- **The Conflict Level:** Did the level of militarization and conflict increase? Why
- **The Colonial Connection:** Discuss the role of colonization in all this. What aspects of this cycle of repression were begun during colonialism?
- **Solutions:** How can the poverty-militarization cycle be broken? Still representing your groups, try, in a short mini-conference, to come up with some solutions and compromises.

The Players:

The Landless Farmers (represented by the young man and the people to whom he is speaking): You are becoming increasingly angry and desperate. For years you have been promised land reform, but small farmers continue to lose their land to large agribusiness corporations which produce crops for export. You need land so that your children will not starve.

The Government: While some of you would like to institute land reform, you are faced with the problem of the military — those people with all the guns. The top-brass of the military are mostly large landowners themselves, or at least friends of large landowners. If you try to bring about land reform, you will probably be overthrown by a military coup.

The Executives of the Multinational Corporations: Land is cheap, labour is cheap; there are large profits to be made. You don't want any changes in land structure. Fortunately, you have friends in government, among the rich landowners (who lease their land to you) and the military.

The Wealthy Landowning Families: You're not about to give up any of your land to a bunch of communist peasants! If the government gets soft on this, you fortunately have the ear of some of the generals in the army.

The Military: At the upper level, you come from rich landowning families. The government is there because you allow them to be, and they know it!

The International Bankers: International lending is profitable; you'll help the government out with a loan.

Bucking the Big Boys

Chapter 7

Read Ho's speech on "socialist construction" on p. 33. Compare it to this speech by Nehru:
Care will be taken ***"not to injure the existing structure too much.... I am not brave and gallant enough to go about destroying any more."*** (Nehru, 1948)

Could you guess, just from these two speeches, who would have trouble from the Western leaders and who would not?

With a partner, write an imaginary dialogue between those two freedom fighters, Jawaharlal Nehru and Ho Chi Minh, on how to gracefully achieve independence.

The Widening Gap

All Chapters

The historian L.S. Stavrianos points out that the difference between the average income per person (GNP per capita) in the First World in the Third World has rapidly expanded since the beginnings of colonialism.

In 1500, the First World GNP per capita was 3 times as much as the Third World GNP per capita.
In 1850: 5 times as much
In 1960:10 times as much
In 1970: 14 times as much

Third World journalist Chakravarthy Raghavan predicts that, unless things change, half of the world's population will live in poverty by 2050. Choose one of the Third World countries in Facing Facts, below, and explain some of the reasons for the widening gap.

The Red Menace

Chapter 7

The story of Vietnam is the story of a country which — partly because of its strategic location — wasn't allowed by the major European and North American powers to choose a Socialist or Communist form of development. Read the quotes by U.S. presidents Johnson and Nixon on p. 35. These presidents believed in the ***Domino Theory*** — that if one country became Communist, adjoining countries would also, and eventually the whole world would become Communist.

After reading Chapter 7, spend a few minutes in small groups discussing the Domino Theory. Is it ever right for powerful countries to block a smaller country from choosing a path which they feel is against the powerful country's national interests? Consider these points:

- How might things have been different if Vietnam had carried out its elections and followed a Communist model of development:
  — for Vietnam
  — for the rest of Asia
  — for the world
- Is a western type of development generally best for all countries?
- What are the rights of major powers to influence the history of smaller nations?
- What role could the United Nations have in deciding these sorts of conflicts?

After a short discussion, write an essay outline on the topic:
National Self-Determination: a Basic Right?
Write your ideas in point form, using as much information as possible from Chapter 7 and from your discussion.

Facing Facts

All Chapters

	GNP (income per person)	Life expectancy	IMR (# of babies per 1000 who die before age 1)	% of infants with low birth weight	% of population with access to safe water
Canada	$20470	77	7	6	100
India	350	60	84	33	86
Philippines	730	65	34	15	81
Vietnam	240	63	39	17	42

Statistics from The State of the World's Children 1993, UNICEF

Based on these figures, write, with a partner, a dialogue between a secondary school student in Canada and one of the Asian countries listed. Talk about the situations in your countries, about your hopes for your future. You may want to develop, in the dialogue, the degree to which you feel colonialism is to blame for these statistics.

Trade Boom

— a simulation game designed to illustrate the way in which colonial patterns persist in world trade

What's Required?

Time:
1.5 hours
(including debriefing)

Participants:
15 - 30 people

Supplies:
A large room with 7 tables (chairs optional)
42 sheets of paper (may be good-one-side recycled)
30 "bills" of $100 each
6 pairs of scissors
6 rulers
3 compasses for drawing circles
3 set squares
3 protractors
12 pencils
2 charts as below
pack of sticky-notes
8 sheets of coloured paper different from the 42 sheets above
Paper & pencil for the Banker

Getting Ready

1 Put sets of equipment into large manilla envelopes as follows:

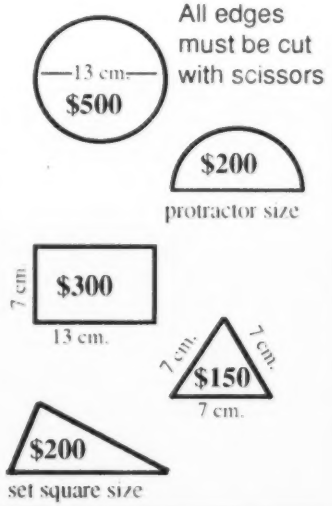
3 Northern Countries:
Label envelopes *Spain, Holland, Britain*
2 scissors
2 rulers
1 compass
1 set square
1 protractor
2 sheets of paper
6 "$100 bills"
4 pencils
In each envelope, include a copy of ***Northern Countries: Colonization Notes*** and ***Colonization Coupon*** (see below)

3 South Countries:
Label envelopes *India, Philippines, Indonesia*
12 sheets paper
1 "$100 bill"

2 Enlarge and display 2 copies of the Diagram of Shapes chart — one at each end of the room.

DIAGRAM OF SHAPES

All edges must be cut with scissors



Northern Countries: Colonization Notes

As soon as the game starts, present the **Colonization Coupon** to the Southern Country of your choice. At the end of the 5-minute period, all the shapes made by the Southern Countries will be turned in to the banker. At that point you will find out how much credit you will get for the shapes made by your colony. It is to your advantage to make sure your colony produces as many shapes as possible.

Equipment: This certificate must be presented along with one compass, one protractor, 2 pencils and 1 pair of scissors. Upon completion of the 5 minutes, take back all the equipment except for 1 pencil and 1 protractor.

Working Strategy: While some of your members are supervising your colony, make sure some of you are making shapes at home!

Colonization Coupon

Upon receipt of this coupon, you, the members of the Southern Country, will produce as many of the required shapes as possible in **5 minutes.** You will use your own paper, but you will be given implements by the Northern Country presenting this certificate. Your country will get credit for a certain portion of the shapes when the 5 minutes are up. You will also get to keep some implements.

3 **Brief your game organizers and banker**

The Game Leader will act as the U.N. — impartial, intervening in disputes, etc. S/he will keep notes of transactions, interesting comments and corruption. S/he is responsible for introducing new elements and helping with debriefing.

The Banker will keep a record of the wealth made by groups. Divide a sheet of paper into 6 columns and when groups bring in shapes, the banker credits their column with the appropriate amount. The banker must be ready to accept instruction from the Game Leader on changing values for different shapes.

The banker must not accept sub-standard shapes.

Leading the Game

1 Divide the group into 6 even-sized groups (if under 20 players, use 4 groups, removing one Northern and one Southern country). Ask players to stand beside one of the tables.

2 Put the envelopes of resource materials on the tables.

3 Read out the objectives and rules of the game.

4 Announce that manufacturing can begin.

??? QUESTIONS ???

At the beginning of the game there will be a lot of confusion and the group will bombard the game leader with loads of questions — "where can I get scissors?" etc. It may be necessary to point out to the Northern countries their Colonization Notes and Coupon. Otherwise, resist all temptation to answer these questions. The players must be the ones to realize the necessity of trade.

Timing

You should announce an end to the "colonial period" — the first 5 minutes during which the Southern countries produce goods for the North. At this point, ask the Southern groups to take all shapes manufactured during the 5 minutes to the Banker. Then announce that **the Southern countries will receive credit for only 20% of the value, and the Northern countries will receive credit for 80%.** From then on, keep an eye on the action, and allow the manufacturing time to continue for up to 30 more minutes, depending on the action level.

Objectives:

The objective of each group is to make as much wealth for itself as possible by using the materials given to it. No other materials can be used. The wealth is made by manufacturing paper shapes. The goods you are going to manufacture are the shapes shown on the Diagram of Shapes. Each shape has its own value as shown on the Diagram and these paper shapes are given to the banker in batches for checking and crediting to your bank account. You can manufacture as many shapes as you like — the more you make the wealthier you will be."

Rules:

- All the shapes need to be cut with clean sharp edges using scissors and must be of the exact size shown, or the banker will not accept them.
- You can use only the materials that have been given out.
- There is no physical force used in the game.
- The Group Leader represents the United Nations and will intervene in any disagreements.

Watch the Action

Northern countries will begin making shapes immediately (even while their southern "colony" is manufacturing for them), but will soon run out of raw materials. Once this occurs, and the 5-minute "colonial" period is through, they will try to buy or trade with other groups.

Watch how groups negotiate prices and determine "terms of trade." Note any alliances and deals, any cheating or stealing, and bring these into the discussion at the end.

Stimulate Activity

Once trading is underway, the game leader can introduce new dimensions.

Change Market Values

When the banker has a lot of any one shape, shout out that the market value has dropped on that shape and risen for another. Since the Southern countries were given a protractor, there will probably be a run on protractor shapes. Try cutting the protractor-shape price in half, due to over-production. Another, scarcer, shape could go up. Make sure that the banker has registered the changes; you may want to stick sticky-notes with the revised prices onto the Diagram of Shapes chart.

[The parallel for this is the way countries' economies can be geared completely to the export of one product: coffee, cocoa, copper. What happens to those countries when prices suddenly drop?]

Increase the Supply of Raw Materials

Give one group an extra supply of paper and announce to the world that a new deposit of raw material has been found.

[This parallels the discovery of oil or other valuable mineral, which can quickly change the financial picture of countries such as the OPEC countries. It will be interesting, at the end of the game, to see whether a Southern country was able to make the most of such an opportunity, without adequate technology.]

Introduce New Materials

Give one or 2 of the Northern countries 3 or 4 sheets of the different-coloured paper, with a sticky note to explain that this is a new synthetic material just developed by the scientists of their country, and can be used as a replacement for the regular paper. Instruct the banker to accept shapes made in the new material, and **to pay double the price for these shapes**.

[This parallels the development of synthetics which has been a major factor in keeping down the prices of raw commodities exported by the Third World. You may want to ask students to think of synthetic alternatives which have been developed to replace India's cotton or Malaysia's rubber, for instance.]

Trade Boom is adapted from *The Trading Game*, developed by Christian Aid.

Winding Up

At the end of the time, get the banker to add up the totals and announce them. Bring the group together for debriefing.

Debriefing

If the game goes according to plan, it will become clear that the whole set-up of the game is unbalanced from the start. Here are some questions and topics you may want to raise.

Feelings:

- How did it feel to be the colonized during the colonial period?
- How did it feel to be the colonizers?
- What was unfair about the whole trading set-up?
- Do the feelings of frustration and even potential violence illustrate the sentiments of many of the ex-colonized countries?

Allegiances:

- Did the Southern group stick together? If so, how did it help? If not, why not? What difference would it have made? Did the Northern group stick together to keep prices down? Ask students to talk about any allegiances made during the game.

Parallels

- Trade Boom attempts, in a very simple way, to mirror the real situation of ex-colonized countries. How real was this situation? What things were real/unreal? Have students discuss any real situations they can think of where people with raw materials are exploited by those who have all the technology.
- Do they feel that the lack of technology and the under-valuing of raw materials reflects the real situation of ex-colonies? Why were they left with only a pencil and a protractor?
- Specific parallels:
  — low commodity prices, and drop in prices where there is overproduction
  — development of synthetic materials and effects on the developing world
  — discovery of raw materials but difficulty in accessing technology

Selected Resources

Print

Colonialism:

Bagchi, Amiya Kumar (1981). ***The Political Economy of Underdevelopment***. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
An overview of the problems of poor countries (principally Asian) from the age of colonialism up to the present day

Cooke, Dave, Development Education Project (1986). ***Teaching Development Issues: Colonialism*** and ***Teaching Development Issues: Work***. Manchester: Development Education Project, c/o Manchester Polytechnic, 801 Wilmslow Road, Manchester UK M20 8RG.
Although these resources were written a few years ago, they provide good teaching material on the issues of colonialism and problems of work in the Third World.

Edwardes, Michael (1961). ***Asia in the European Age, 1498-1955***. London: Thames and Hudson.
A good source of general information on colonialism in Asia.

Gage, Susan (1991). ***Colonialism in Africa : a Critical Look*** and ***Colonialism in the Americas: a Critical Look***. Victoria: VIDEA.
These two teaching resources designed for secondary students encourage, through lively graphics, text and activities, a critical examination of the role of colonialism in current world structures.

Stavrianos, L.S. (1981). ***Global Rift: The Third World Comes of Age***. N.Y.: William Morrow and Company, Inc.
A very comprehensive economic history of the world which emphasizes the effects of colonialism in current world economic structures

India:

Lewis, M., ed. (1962), ***The British in India: Imperialism or Trusteeship?*** Boston, D.C. Heath and Company.
A collection of essays written from different perspectives on the positive and negative contributions of the British to India's development. Includes a major essay by Nehru.

Philippines:

Karnow, Stanley (1989). ***In Our Image: America's Empire in the Philippines***. NY: Random House
An in-depth look at U.S. involvement in the Philippines.

Putzel, James and Cunnington, John (1989). ***Gaining Ground: Agrarian Reform in the Philippines***. London: War on Want Campaigns Ltd.
A very current resource outlining the causes of poverty and need for land reform in the Philippines

Vietnam:

New Internationalist. ***After the Storm: A Journey to the Heart of Vietnam*** (entire issue). February 1991.
A look at the current realities and contradictions of Vietnam

Weissman, Robert. "Good Morning, Vietnam," ***Multinational Monitor***, December 1990, pp. 18 - 21.
An examination of the current economic situation in Vietnam

Audio-Visual

Days of Future Past (1985 - 30 minutes):
This video traces the colonial histories of 3 countries: Peru, Malaysia and Niger, showing some of the lingering results of colonialism. *Days of Future Past* is part of the *Paths of Development* series which has been placed in major public libraries across Canada by CIDA. For B.C. teachers, this video is also avilable through Image Media Services.

Gandhi (188 minutes — PG rating)
Richard Attenborough's study of the life of Gandhi is sure to capture the interest of students as they view Gandhi's struggle against colonialism. Basic questions about colonialism are raised in the film:

- non-violent passive resistance: What made it work? Would it work with all regimes? Did it require media coverage to make it effective?
- de-industrialization: Why was Gandhi so insistant on self-reliance, teaching himself to weave and leading people in the Salt Walk?
- export crops: Why were indigo workers dying? What did this have to do with the colonial structure? Might this situation still occur today?

A Note on *Think About It* Questions:

Scattered liberally throughout the text are questions headed "Think about it." These questions challenge readers to take the material and extrapolate from it, to link the material to their own situation, to hypothesize and forecast. Some students and teachers may find the ***Think about it*** questions frustrating, because the answers are rarely imbedded directly in the text, and more than one answer is possible. It is hoped that the questions will spark reflection, debate and inquiry which will be more valuable than the acquisition of a correct answer.

Because the ***Think about it*** questions are often lengthy, the index below contains a paraphrase of the questions, emphasizing the main topics.

Think About It Question Index

Colonialism — General:

The Structure of Colonialism: How was the present-day development of ex-colonies influenced by:

- the outflow of cash and resources during the period of colonialism? 8
- the structuring of their economies around a few export crops? 8
- the destruction of craft economies? 8
- imposed borders and policies of divide and rule? 9
- the support given to outdated hierarchies? 9
- the assumption of western superiority? 10

How did colonialism influence the thinking of current leaders regarding what is desirable development (India)? 17

How might a feudal land distribution pattern imposed by colonialism affect the Philippines today? 21

How do oligarchies hang on even after independence (Philippines)? 23

Civil Disobedience:

How are Gandhi's non-violent civil disobedience strategies used today? 20

Communism/Capitalism:

How might a very anti-Communist stance influence a country's development? (Philippines) 25

What is the stance of the ex-colonial powers towards left-leaning independence movements? 33

Debt:

Who should pay Third World debt? 30

Environment:

What effect do low Third World environmental standards have on Canada? 30

International Affairs:

How is Canada influenced in making decisions in the international forum? 35

Militarism:

How was India's development influenced by British spending on the military at the expense of agricultural and industrial development? 14

Is it justifiable to kill civilian populations in war? (Philippines) 22

How might a strong army influence the democratic process? (Philippines) 25

How are militarism, repression, and land distribution related? (Philippines) 26

What is the link between army intervention and corporate interests in the Philippines? 30

Racism:

What is the relationship between colonialism and racism? 6

Trade/Economic Issues:

What effect did the colonial division of labour have on the colonized countries? on the industrialized countries? 7

Is it possible to break free from economic dependence imposed during colonialism? ..23

How do free trade and economic dependence influence development? (Philippines) 24

How might multinational corporations be considered new-age colonialists? 26

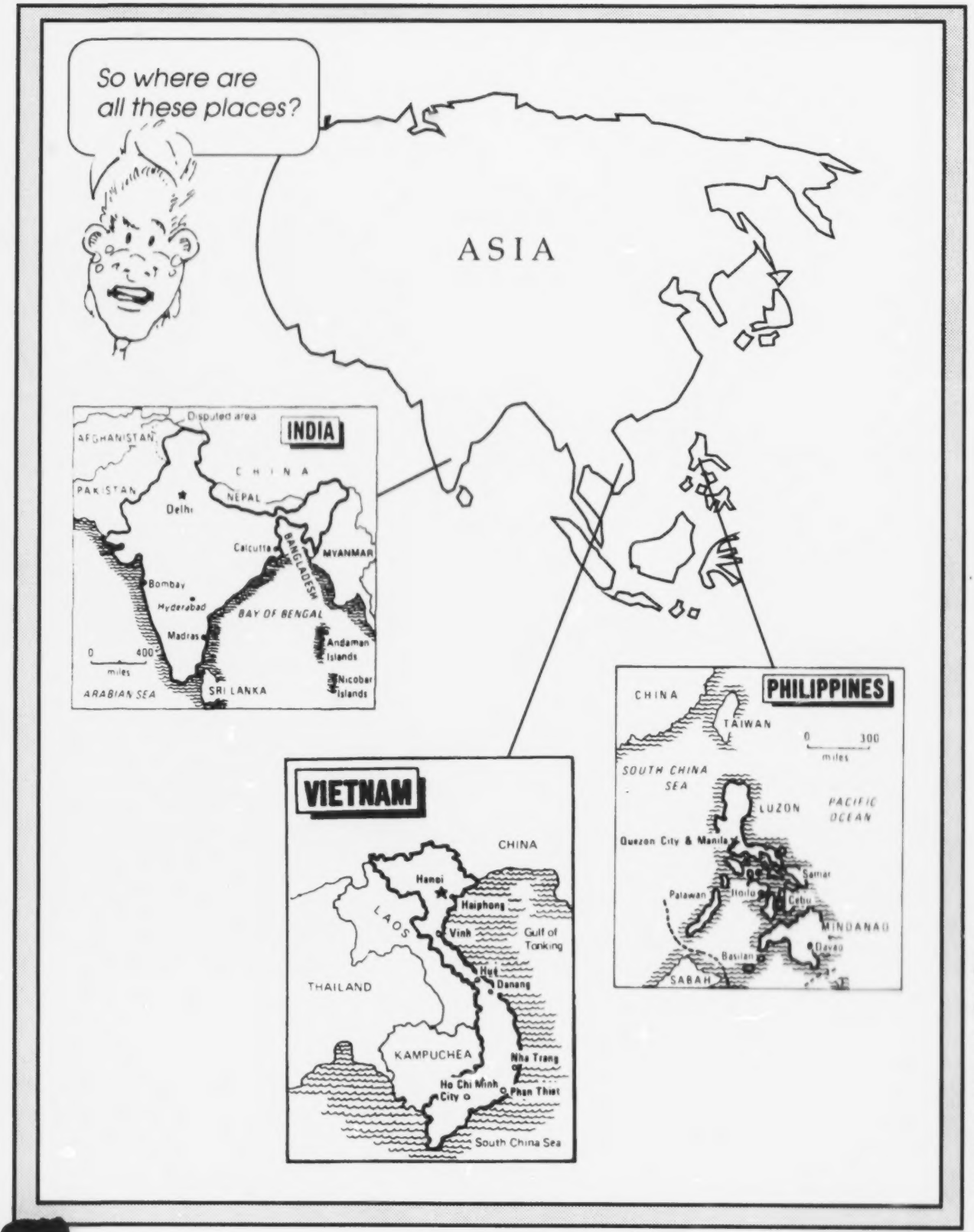
How might First World consumer-power influence conditions in the Third World? 27

Who benefits from free trade zones? 29

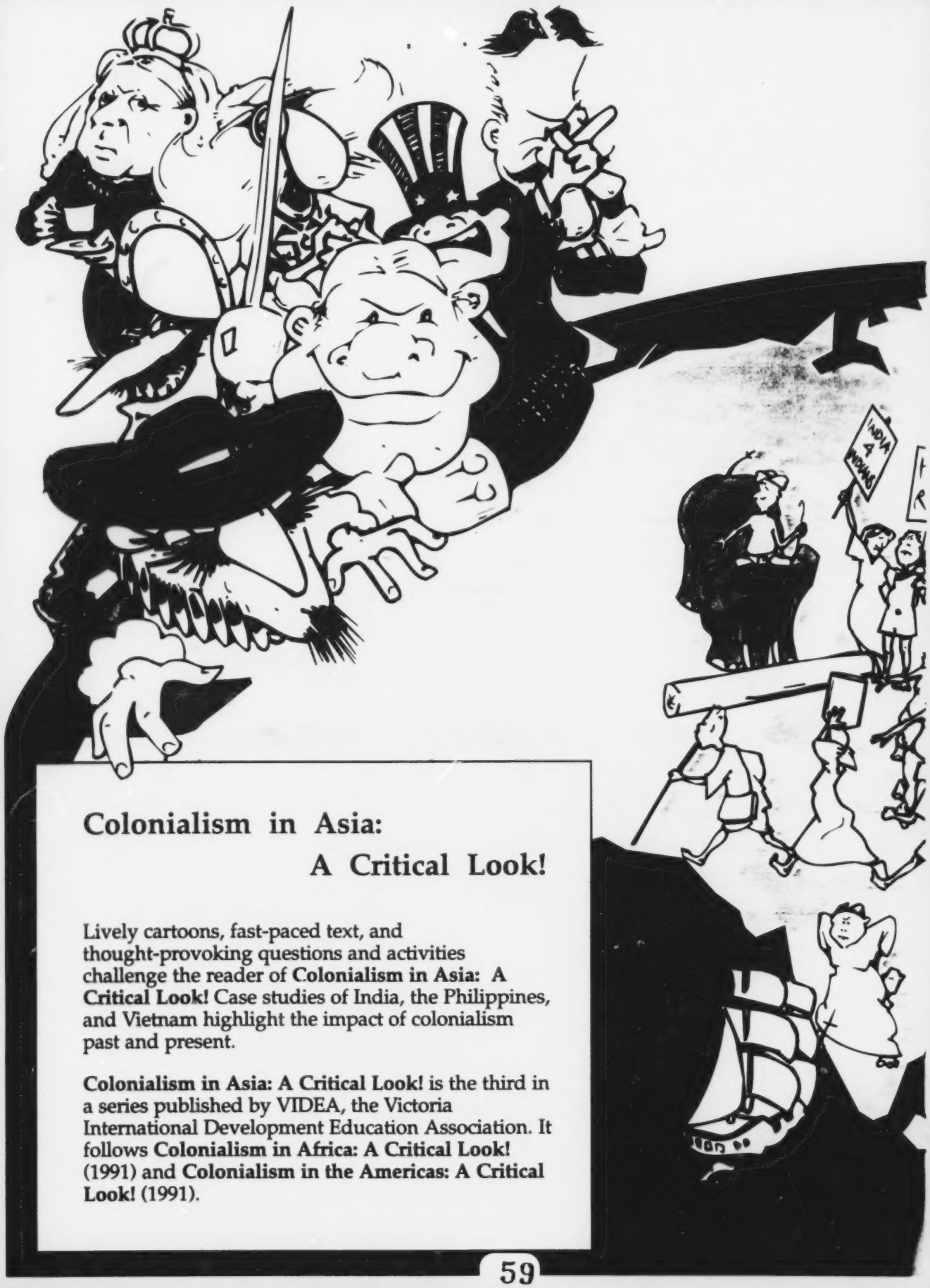
What effect will increasing exports have on the environment? on food intake levels? 39

How is the IMF linked to neo-colonialism? 39

How is GATT linked to neo-colonialism? 40



country maps: New Internationalist



Colonialism in Asia: A Critical Look!

Lively cartoons, fast-paced text, and thought-provoking questions and activities challenge the reader of **Colonialism in Asia: A Critical Look!** Case studies of India, the Philippines, and Vietnam highlight the impact of colonialism past and present.

Colonialism in Asia: A Critical Look! is the third in a series published by VIDEA, the Victoria International Development Education Association. It follows **Colonialism in Africa: A Critical Look!** (1991) and **Colonialism in the Americas: A Critical Look!** (1991).